HISTORY OF SHAHJAHAN OF DIHLI

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To my uncle

BABU GURPRASAD

PREFACE

To write the history of Shahjahan's reign within the compass of a thesis of a limited volume, meant doing injustice to some of the important topics connected therewith. And I must confess that the chapters on the cultural and administrative institutions could have been more comprehensive ; but the exigencies of examination compelled me to reduce them to their present size, notwithstanding the fact that there was no paucity of material on these subjects. I therefore owe a word of apology to the public in general, and to the scholars of the Moghul India in particular, for this drawback in my work, which I hope to rectify in a subsequent edition.

My grateful acknowledgments are due to Lt. Colonel Sir Wolseley Haig without whose guidance I could not have finished this work as smoothly as I could. Let me not omit to mention in this connection the name of Sir E. Denison Ross whose useful suggestions were a welcome addition to my knowledge. I am also greatly indebted to M. Grugeon, Esq. of the King's College, London for the trouble he took in revising the manuscript of my thesis. My friend and colleague Mr. Bisheshwar Prasad, M.A., spent a good deal of his precious time in correcting the proofs and seeing the book through the press. My warmest thanks are due to him.

In the end, let me acknowledge with thanks the assistance I received from my pupils Messrs Bhawani Prasad and Shambhu Saran Lal, Hafiz Ahmad Ali Khan, the Librarian of the State Library, Rampur, Miss Murray Browne, the Deputy-Librarian at the School of Oriental Studies, London and Mr. Sarju Prasad, the Deputy-Librarian of the Allahabad University Library.

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FOREWORD

In his introduction to this work Dr. Saksena rightly describes the reign of Shāhjahān as an epoch in itself. It was in this reign that the power and wealth of the Moghul Empire, as it is miscalled, and the splendour of its court reached their zenith and the reign is styled by the author "the most glorious epoch in the mediæval period," though he justly observes that even in this long and splendid reign signs of decline are noticeable. The dominions of the House of Tīmūr had not yet reached their extreme limit, for Shāhjahān's successor added two kingdoms to them, but the result of this expansion of the territory directly subject to the Imperial crown proves the superior wisdom of Shāhjahān in contenting himself with the submission of these vassal kingdoms and refraining from annexation.

Shāhjahān is commonly portrayed as a gross voluptuary, 'cruel, treacherous, and unscrupulous.' This is hardly just. Like other Asiatic rulers of his own and a later age, he had little scruple in removing those, even of his nearest kin, who stood in his path, like them, he was not averse from sensual pleasures, but he was no idler ; he had a high ideal of his kingly duties, 'and there is overwhelming evidence to prove that he led a strenuous life.'

Though by blood more than half Hindu, he was a better Muslim than either his father or his grandfather, and abolished practices instituted or sanctioned by them which were opposed to the sacred law of Islam. He never tasted wine until he was twenty-four years old, and then only at the instigation of his father, and he was never a slave to what may be regarded as the curse of his house. Two of his uncles and one of his brothers had died from the abuse of strong drink, and it was only his father's naturally robust constitution which enabled him to withstand for so long the natural results of his habitual excess, but Shāhjahān, though he sometimes broke the law of

his faith, did not abuse the good gifts of God. Against the sensuality of his later life, exaggerated by European travellers, must be set his devotion to the beloved wife who was the mother of twelve of his fourteen children, his grief for her death, and his desolation when she was no more. These have their memorial in the crowning beauty of Agra.' The palace at Delhi and many other buildings do credit to Shāhjahān's taste in architecture, but the Tāj, a monument of love, is unsurpassed in the world.

It is strange that the reign of such a monarch should not hitherto have attracted the special attention of any historian writing in English. Bābur and his son have been commemorated by the late Mrs. Beveridge, of those who have devoted themselves both in history and fiction, to the memory of Akbar, that prince of dreamers, space forbids a list, Jahāngir has not been neglected, and Aurangzīb has been exhaustively treated by that fine historian, Sir Jadunāth Sarkār, but Shāhjahān has not yet been systematically studied, and the notices of his reign in general histories hitherto published leave much to be desired. 'This thesis,' says its author, 'is an attempt to fill the blank.' I may add that it is a highly successful attempt.

Dr. Saksena treats his subject with praiseworthy impartiality. Shāhjahān, in his hands, is not 'the virtuous sovereign with hardly a blemish on his character' depicted by contemporary Indian chroniclers, nor on the other hand, is he the monster of moral depravity described by some European travellers who have flavoured their pages with the scandalous gossip of the purliens of the court.

I cordially recommend this work to students of the rule of the Timurids in India as a valuable addition to our knowledge of the subject with which it deals.

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WOLSELEY HAIG

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INTRODUCTION

AT a time when the study of epochs rather than of personalities is engaging the attention of serious students of history, it seems a little out of place to devote one's energy to the elucidation of the reign of one individual monarch only. But it is different with the reign of Shāhjahān. In the first place, his reign like that of his grandfather Akbar is an epoch by itself; and secondly, it has not, so far, been exhaustively dealt with.

Thus the aim of this thesis is to fill a gap in the history of the Chaghtāī dynasty. The period, covered by it extends from 1592 to 1657. The War of Succession, which followed the serious illness of Shāhjahān, is outside the scope of the present work, because it has been very graphically described by Sir Jādū Nāth Sarkār in his stupendous work on Aurangzīb; and the last years of Shāhjahān's life have similarly been excluded for the same reason. The repetition of well-known facts has so far as possible been avoided; but where for the sake of the continuity of the narrative it seemed essential to refer to them, this has been done with great brevity.

Scope of the thesis.

I have based my studies mainly on the contemporary Persian sources, and, where sufficient evidence was not available, on later records as well. I have also utilised the accounts of European travellers, which either exist in English or have been translated into English. This mass of raw material, which has been thoroughly sifted and made to yield results embodied in the thesis, falls into three divisions: (1) Earlier works, (2) Contemporary chronicles; (3) Accounts of European travellers.

Earlier Works: Akbarnāma and Ā'īn.

Akbarnāma: In the third volume of Abul Fazl's monumental work we come across some stray references to the birth and early education of Prince Khurram. But his other work, the Ā'īn, is absolutely essential for a study of the administrative institutions of the Moghuls. The best criticism of the Ā'īn is to be found in W. H. Moreland's 'Agrarian System of Muslim India.'

Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī.

Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī: But more interesting than the Akbarnāma and more relevant to our subject of study is the Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī or Memoirs of Jahāngīr. They form as valuable an asset to literature as to history. Jahāngīr wrote them himself almost up to the end of the seventeenth year of his reign; the account of the 18th and 19th years is recorded by Mu'tamid Khān, because of the growing weakness of the Emperor. In the Memoirs we get a connected account of Shāhjahān's rise during the reign of his father. But when the prince rebelled, Jahāngīr's attitude changed towards him; and instead of his sonorous titles, Shāhjahān is referred to by his father as Bī-daulat.

Makhzan-i-Afāghina:

Makhzan-i-Afāghina: The author of this work Ni'matullah was for thirty years in the *Khālsa* department during the reign of Akbar, and for eleven years occupied the post of *Wāqi'ah-navīs* under Jahāngīr. Further he says that in 1595 he was serving as librarian to the Khān Khānān. He was dismissed from the government service in 1608, after which he was patronised by Khān Jahān Lodhī. He began to write his work on February 13, 1612, at Malkāpūr in Berār, and he frankly admits that his object was to record the praise of his patron. He has devoted the first four chapters to the history of the Lodhī and Surī dynasties, and in the fifth chapter he gives an account of the ancestors of Khān Jahān. The last event mentioned is Khān Jahān's retirement to Elichpūr in May 1612.

After Shāhjahān's accession, two works almost identical

in details were produced by two writers closely connected with the court. Mirzā Kāmgār Husainī wrote Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī in 1630; and Mu'tamid Khān completed his Iqbālnāma some time after 1632. A comparison of these two works reveals the fact that both writers obtained their information from the same sources, but Mu'tamid Khān is more guilty of plagiarism than Kāmgār, because he has paraphrased the Tuzuk. According to Khāfī Khān Kāmgār is more reliable and truthful than Mu'tamid Khān. But Kāmgār is partial to 'Abdullah Khān Fīroz Jang, being closely related to him. He offers plausible explanations for Fīroz Jang's treacherous conduct on two occasions; first his changing sides on the eve of the battle of Bilochpūr; and second, his desertion of Shāhjahān, after the latter's return from Bengal. In spite of their defects, the two works furnish valuable information on a period which otherwise would have been a blank to us, viz., the rebellion of Shāhjahān and the events immediately preceding his accession.

Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī and Iqbālnāma.

The number and volume of contemporary records is simply bewildering. To appraise properly their value let us group them into four sections: (a) Official histories and histories written by those closely connected with the Moghul court; (b) Histories of Bījāpūr and Golconda; (c) Histories of Persia; (d) Contemporary correspondence, including diaries and journals, as also short tracts dealing with some individual campaign or episode.

Contemporary records.

Being proud by nature Shāhjahān was very anxious to see that the annals of his reign were handed down to posterity in grandiose language, and to achieve his end he successively appointed several men to do this work. Muhammad Sālih Kambū mentions the names of Hakīm Hāziq and Mullā 'Abdul Latīf Gujarātī, who he says, were removed from the post because of the jealousy of their rivals. Unfortunately no trace of their works has survived and we do not know how or what they wrote.

Lost works.

The first extant official historian of Shāhjahān's reign is Mirzā Amīnāī Qazvīnī, a *prótegé* of Afzal Khān. It is not possible to determine the exact time of his arrival in India, but according to his own assertion he was present in the Deccan when the terrible famine of 1630 occurred, and entered the Imperial service in the fifth year of Shāhjahān's reign. He was in Afzal Khān's train when the Emperor visited Kashmir in 1633-34. His first composition was the account of Aurangzīb's fight with the elephant Sudhākar; it was highly commended by the Emperor. He then wrote an account of the Bundela campaign, which so much impressed Shāhjahān that he appointed him court historian. He continued to hold this post till he had completed the record of the first ten years of Shāhjahān's reign, when he was removed on account of the jealousy of his rivals.

Pādshāhnāma of Qazvīnī.

The Pādshāhnāma of Qazvīnī is in simple but graceful language, and is typical of the pure Persian style of that period. Naturally the author is partial to his patron the Emperor. When dealing with the latter's early life, and especially his rebellion, he fixes the entire blame on Nūr Jahān, whom he condemns in strong language. In fact the account of the rebellion is very meagre, and the author attempts to explain this period of trouble on superstitious grounds. But the work is valuable for the early education of Shāhjahān and for the events which occurred during the first ten years of the reign.

Another Pādshāhnāma of the same type as that of Qazvīnī is by Jalāluddīn Tabātabāī. The extant portion covers only four years of Shāhjahān's reign, viz., 5th to 8th, but from stray references in the work it appears that Tabātabāī also wrote an account of the earlier years. His language is picturesque and highly ornate, and his style is native Persian. From the historical point of view his work is of no material importance, because it is merely a reproduction of the events described by his predecessor and countryman Qazvīnī; in some places, especially in the description of Kashmir, it seems that Tabātabāī has

Pādshāhnāma of Tabātabāī.

freely borrowed from Qazvīnī. Tabātabāī completed the work in 1640.

Pādshāhnāma of Lāhaurī.

The third official historian, and the one who came up to the expectations of Shāhjahān, was 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhaurī. According to Md. Sālih, he was a follower of the Abul Fazl school. When he was appointed as court historian, he was already in the decline of his age. The time when he undertook this work is certainly not prior to the 12th year of Shāhjahān's reign, and may be assigned to about the 16th. According to Muhammad Wāris, 'Abdul Hamīd completed the work on November 9, 1648, and died on August 30, 1654.

Lāhaurī's Pādshāhnāma covers the first 20 years of Shāhjahān's reign. The author begins the work after the style of Abul Fazl, but later gives up the attempt. The first ten years are a mere repetition of Qazvīnī's work; here and there some more details are added. In his judgment of Nūr Jahān, Lāhaurī is as harsh as his predecessor ; and the description of Kashmir is identical. The main value of the work lies in the second part, which records the events of the second cycle. From the historical point of view this record is perfect ; but there is nothing in it to attract the attention or elicit the admiration of a student of literature.

Pādshāhnāma of Wāris.

Lāhaurī was prevented from continuing work by old age, so it was entrusted to one of his pupils, Md. Wāris. He has recorded the events of the third cycle of Shāhjahān's reign. His description of the buildings of Shāhjahānābād is very graphic and exceedingly picturesque.

Shāhjahān-nāma of Md. Sādiq.

After Md. Wāris we have to depend for our information on the accounts of certain officers who were closely connected with the court. The first and the most important work of this type is the Shāhjahān-nāma of Muhammad Sādiq. In spite of many autobiographical references in his work, it is difficult to establish the identity of this writer. Nevertheless the Shāhjahān-nāma,

if not the most remarkable, is certainly one of the most reliable authorities on the period. Not only was the author most favourably placed (he held the post of *Dārogha-i-Ghuslkhāna*) to watch, understand, and make a judicious analysis of the affairs he describes, but even where he does not speak from personal knowledge, his sources of information are unimpeachable. He mentions the names of four uncles, three of whom held responsible posts in government service. Ishaq Beg Yezdī was the *Mīr Sāmān* of Mumtāz Mahall ; Amīr Khān was *Mīr Tuzuk*, and Bāqī Khān was for a long time governor of Akbarābād (Agra). His fourth uncle Md. Yār was merely an *ahadī* or gentleman trooper.

Md. Sādiq had no axe to grind. He was not a court historian, and he did not write to please any patron. Of course, he is partial to Shāhjahān, but otherwise he is very just, and he never spares necessary criticism, or omits unpalatable facts. He begins from the time of Jahāngīr's death and goes up to the time of Shāhjahān's imprisonment.

Of his impartiality a few instances may be given here : the due credit he gives to the exertions of the followers of Khān Jahān Lodhī, who were outnumbered by the Sayyids of Bārha in the last phase of the struggle, and to the skill of the Deccanīs in swordsmanship ; the tribute he pays to the worth of Murārī Pandit whom he calls '*Sāhib-i-Saif-o-Qalam*,' and to the fidelity of Nūr Jahān to her dead husband ; his unstinted praise of some of the Hindū officers, especially Makund Rāy, the *Dīvān* of Āsaf Khān, and finally his frank confession that the Moghuls failed against Qandahār because of their inferior firearms. He personally participated in the negotiations between Shāhjahān and Aurangzīb after the defeat of Dārā, and therefore his account is most authentic.

Mulakhkhas of Md. Tāhir.

Md. Tāhir Āshnā's Mulakhkhas is a complete history of Shāhjahān up to the 30th year of his reign. Shāhnawāz Khān praises him for his refined and chaste style, but as a historian Md. Tāhir ranks among those who can copy but not create. Though

placed highly in the Imperial service and in a position to obtain independent information from reliable sources (he was the son of Zafar Khān the governor of Kashmir) he chose the less dignified course of summarising *verbatim* the works of Md. Amīn Qazvīnī, 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhaurī and others. So easy going was he that he did not even care to give his own version of the conquest of Tibet, which was performed by his own father. He is partial to Shāhjahān, and therefore omits the murder of Khusrav, and Shāhjahān's demands from his father before his rebellion. His remark that the Balkh Campaign was in the nature of retaliation for Nazr Md. Khān's attempt to conquer Kabul, is interesting.

Md. Sālih Kambū's 'Amal-i-Sālih.

Muhammad Sālih Kambū wrote a detailed history of Shāhjahān's reign, which he completed in 1659. From some references in the body of the work it seems that he commenced it before the War of Succession ; e.g., with reference to Shāhjahān's marriage to Mumtāz Mahall he says, "So that from this union four sons are surviving today, holding the charge of the four corners of the world." But when referring to the death of the Queen, Sālih gives a long list of attributes to the Prince Aurangzīb, which is an indication that the latter had ascended the throne, otherwise there was no point in referring him in such felicitous terms. From the account of the tragedy of Shāhjahān it appears that the work was continued even after 1659. Again the remark of the author about Shujā', that "till now (i.e., 1669) no trace of him is to be found," shows that the 'Amal-i-Sālih was not completed till after this year.

The author, as Ghulām Yazdānī remarks in his preface, was employed in the Imperial Records Department, and as such had a great opportunity to obtain information from first-hand sources. But a perusal of the work shows that, except in the later portion, Md. Sālih has summarised in ornate language the existing accounts of Shāhjahān's reign. Like others he is partial to Shāhjahān and hard on Nūr Jahān. But his evidence

regarding the complicity of Shāhjahān in the murder of Khusrav is one strong proof of his independent judgment.

It will not be out of place here to mention a few works which though not strictly contemporary throw some light on the history of the reign. The first work to be noticed in this connection is the Zafarnāmah-i-Pādshāh 'Ālamgīr. Rieu attributes its authorship to Mīr Khān, *Subehdār* of Kabul. The work is a record of the eventful period in which Aurangzīb succeeded in deposing his father and crushing his rivals. The author writes from personal knowledge, and his account of the mission of Jahān Ārā Begum to Aurangzīb is very interesting. Like Md. Sādiq he also refers to the treacherous part of Khalīlullah Khān, who completely estranged Aurangzīb from his father.

Zafarnāma - i - Ālamgīrī.

Futūhāt-i-'Ālamgīrī is a record of Aurangzīb's reign from his rise to power to the 34th year, by Isardās Nāgar, a resident of the town of Patan in Gujarāt. It is divided into seven chapters, of which only the first two are relevant to our purpose. The first chapter opens with a reference to the illness of Shāhjahān and the activities of Dārā to obtain control of the state affairs. It also briefly mentions the defeat of Shujā' at the hands of Jai Singh and Sulaimān Shikoh. Further the author offers a justification for the murder of 'Alī Naqī by Murād, on the ground that the former was in collusion with Dārā. The most interesting fact in the second chapter is the reference to Aurangzīb's promise to Murād to seat him on the throne and then retire from the world. Further he refers to Khalīlullah Khān's treachery in advising Dārā to dismount from his elephant. He is on the whole partial to Murād, and his account is not absolutely reliable because it is not based on trustworthy evidence.

Futūhāt-i-Ālamgīrī.

Another work of the same type is the Nuskha-i-Dilkushā' by Bhīm Sen, son of Raghunāth Dās, a Kāyestha by caste. The author in the preface to his work says that after resigning government service he wanted to retire from the world, but love for his

Nuskha-i-Dilkushā'.

relatives did not let him pursue this course. He became friends with Rão Dalpat, a descendant of Bīr Singh Dev Bundela, and began to serve under him.

After a short introduction, Bhīm Sen begins his work with an account of the ancestors of Rão Dalpat. He then describes the town of Burhānpūr, and incidentally mentions the chronograms of the birth and death of Malik 'Ambar. He also gives an account of Khirkī, which he says, was founded by Malik 'Ambar, and was renamed Aurangābād by Aurangzīb. His narrative of the events following the illness of Shāhjahān, especially those which occurred in the Deccan, is quite reliable. For the history of Shāhjahān's reign the first 20 ff. are important. His explanation of the word Bhonsla is interesting. He says that the founder of this dynasty was one Rājā Ur Sen who migrated from Chitor to the Deccan, and settled in the village of Bhonsa in Parenda. It is after this village that his descendants are known as Bhonsla.

Mirā'tul 'Ālam.

Among the general histories of the period three deserve mention:

(1) *Mirā'tul 'Ālam*—Rieu ascribes this work to Bakhtāvar Khān, a perfect master in historical lore; but Ethe (I.O.L. Cat. p. 47) refutes the statement and says that it was produced by Shaykh Md. Baqā, who, he says, enlarged his original work and renamed it Mirā't-i-Jahān-numā. The author deals with the history of Shāhjahān in the sixth chapter in a summary fashion.

(2) *Khulāsat-ut-Tawārīkh*—Its author Sujān Rāy Khattrī was a resident of Patiāla in the Panjāb. He says that from his youth upwards he was acting as *munshī* to high government officers, and he gives a long list of authorities from the Rāmāyan to the Tārīkh-i-Bahādurshāhī, on which he has based his work. He says that since it is a summary of the reigns of various kings up to Aurangzīb he has named his work Khulāsat. Practically half of the work is devoted to a description of *sūbas* and the Hindū and Muslim Kings preceding the Chaghtāīs. In his

Khulāsat-ut-Tawārīkh.

account of the Hindūs he mentions the *Kumbh* fair which is held every twelve years at Hardwār. He is doubtful about Shāhjahān's complicity in the murder of Khusrav, and describes the events of Jahāngīr's reign very briefly. For the details of Shāhjahān's reign he refers to the Shāhjahān-nāma of Md. Wāris. In his account of the War of Succession he attributes the flight of Jaswant Singh to the desertion of his followers, especially Rājā Rāy Singh Sisodia and Rājā Sujān Singh Chandrāwat. He does not say that Dārā dismounted from his elephant at the instance of Khalīlullah Khān. The work ends with Dārā's flight from Sindh to Gujarāt, and the author abruptly remarks that Aurangzīb died in the Deccan at the age of 92 years in 1707.

Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb.

(3) *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*—The author of this stupendous work on history is Khāfī Khān. Undoubtedly he is a very judicious writer, but so far as the reign of Shāhjahān is concerned he does not materially add to our knowledge. When writing about the Deccan he explicitly says that he has taken all his facts from the Pādshāhnāma, and refers to the latter authority for the details.

Histories of the Deccan: Tazkirat-ul-Mulūk.

Tazkirat-ul-Mulūk—The author of this work Rafī'uddīn Shīrāzī, came to India in 1559. After visiting Gujarāt, Dihlī and Sāgar he repaired to Bījāpūr, where he joined his first cousin Afzal Khān, who was then basking in the sunshine of royal favour. 'Alī 'Ādilshāh appointed him *Khwān-sālār* and he accompanied his master to the field of Tālīkot. Later he was promoted to the post of the Treasurer and Keeper of the *Shāh Burj*. After the death of 'Alī 'Ādilshāh, both Afzal Khān and Rafī'uddīn were imprisoned; and it was only a lucky chance that Rafī's life was spared. He won the favour of Ibrāhīm 'Ādilshāh under whom he successively held the posts of *Jama'dār*, Musāhib, Superintendent of the Palace, and ultimately Governor of Bījāpūr.

His work is a general history of the Deccan, though he has concentrated his attention on Bījāpūr. Information about the

Indian Moghuls and the Safavids of Persia is also embodied in it ; and the annals of Vijianagar, Golconda, Ahmadnagar, and Gujarāt also find a place in the narrative. He records certain facts about the life of Malik 'Ambar which are to be found neither in Ferishta nor in any other contemporary chronicle.

The work on the whole is characterised by a simple and vigorous style unencumbered with hyperbolic exaggeration or metaphoric bombast. Though covering an extensive period, it is by no means tiring. Later it was much utilised by subsequent writers, and Fizūnī Astrābādī quotes from it *in extenso*. According to Basātīn-us-Salātīn, the work was presented to Muhammad 'Ādilshāh when the latter went to the house of Mustafā Khān. The only defect in it is the fanciful account of the origin of Yūsuf 'Ādilshāh.

Futūhāt-i-'Ādilshāhī.

Futūhāt-i-'Ādilshāhī—It was a mere chance that the author of this work, Fizūnī Astrābādī, was compelled to repair to the 'Ādilshāhī court. He went from his native town of Astrābād on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but the insecurity of the roads having prevented him from returning home, he set out to India. During the voyage he was plundered by the Malābārī pirates and landed at the port of Mustafābād (Daibul) in a destitute and forlorn condition. The governor of the port helped him to reach Bījāpūr, where Mustafā Khān presented him to Muhammad 'Ādilshāh. He wrote this work at the instance of his patron.

In the Futūhāt sufficient space has been devoted to the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādilshāh, and to the early part of the reign of Muhammad 'Ādilshāh. Thus Fizūnī fills the gap between Ferishta and Khāfī Khān. For the reign of Muhammad 'Ādilshāh his authority is trustworthy, because he has based his information on reliable sources, and probably he even had access to the state records. He makes a detailed notice of the Moghul activities in the Deccan, adds to the account of Malik 'Ambar as given by Shafī'ā, and discusses the relations between Bījāpūr and the Moghuls up to the year 1641. The last event

which is mentioned is the visit of Sultān Muhammad to the tomb of Gesū Darāz in 1644.

Basātīn-us-Salātīn.

Basātīn-us-Salātīn—This is a complete summary of the history of Bījāpūr, from its foundation to its downfall. The author, Ghulām Murtazā, gives a list of authorities which he has consulted for the preparation of his work. Some of these have now been lost to us. In the absence of other contemporary works, the Basātīn is of great help in the reconstruction of the history of Bījāpūr.

Tārīkh-i-Muhammad Qutbshāhī.

The Qutbshāhīs of Golconda, though by no means sparing in their patronage of the art of letters, have unfortunately no historian of outstanding merit. The earliest extant work is the Tārīkh-i-Muhammad Qutbshāhī, by an unknown compiler, who abridged it from a detailed account attributed by Ferishta to Shāhkhurshāh. This work of compilation was undertaken at the instance of Muhammad Qutbshāh, and the compiler brings the history of the dynasty down to 1616. The account of the early years of the reigning sovereign is very meagre. Later Khāfī Khān in spite of a diligent search could obtain little authentic information in addition to that to be found in the Muhammad Qutbshāhī. Thus there is a lamentable gap of eleven years in the history of this dynasty.

Hadīqat-us-Salātīn.

The *Hadīqat-us-Salātīn*, though it begins the narrative from 1614, takes little notice of events other than those connected with the early life of 'Abdullah Qutbshāh The author, Nizāmuddīn Ahmad bin 'Abdullah Shīrāzī, was a favourite of the prime-minister Shaykh Muhammad, at whose instance he undertook the work. He writes in the usual style of court historians, who ever make the worse appear the better reason. His language is involved and pedantic, and it seems to have been affected by his residence in India. There is a sprinkling of pure Hindī words in his work, e.g., at one place he combines the word *mash'al* (torch) with *ḍīvat* (lamp-stool).

But as a contemporary record of events, the Hadīqat is very valuable. It describes the transactions between the Moghul and the Qutbshāhī courts, though on every occasion the author adduces some justification for the meekness and humility of 'Abdullah. Apart from its historical narrative, the author records some very interesting anecdotes. He describes the method of preparing salt, and notices the abolition of customs duty on it by 'Abdullah. He records the existence of " fancy bazars " at Golconda, in which even European girls were offered for sale. The Hadīqat comes to an end in 1640, i.e., the 16th year of 'Abdullah's reign.

Hadīqat-ul-'Ālam.

The *Hadīqat-ul-'Ālam* is a comprehensive history of the Qutbshāhī dynasty by Abul Qāsim bin Razīuddīn Mūsavī, surnamed Mīr 'Ālam, a minister and trusted servant of Nizām 'Alī Āsafī. The author came from an illustrious family of Shūstar, and undertook this work to explain the origin of the Āsafī Kingdom. He has based it mainly on the Tārikh-i-Muhammad Qutbshāhī, Ferishta and Khāfī Khān but at times he also exhibits critical acumen in his choice of a more reasonable and convincing account from among the many versions of controversial topics. But he rarely adds new information, and his account of the reign of Muhammad Qutbshāh is as meagre as those to be found in other authorities which he has consulted. He closes his book with a criticism of the policy of Aurangzīb in annexing Golconda, which, according to the author, brought little glory to the Moghul Empire, but, on the contrary, enfeebled it and prepared the ground for the Marāthā expansion.

Histories of Persia: Tārīkh Jadīd.

Tārīkh Jadīd—The author of this work Mirzā Tāhir Vahīd, was a *prótegé* of the Grand *Vazīr* Mirzā Taqīuddīn Muhammad. He held the post of *Majlis Navīs* in the reign of Shāh 'Abbās II. He was appointed *Vazīr* in 1689, and held the post for 18 years.

Walī Qulī Shāmlū praises Tāhir Vahīd as the first master of the style of his day. The Tārīkh Jadīd, as the author himself

says, was written at the instance of Shāh 'Abbās II, and as such is an official record of his reign. It goes up to the beginning of the year 1656, the last event mentioned therein being the earthquake which occurred in Qazvīn about that time.

As a contemporary history of Persia the work is very reliable, because in the case of most of the events described by the author, he either personally witnessed them, or could obtain information about them from the reports submitted to court. The Tārīkh Jadīd has been used by all subsequent writers on the history of Persia. Of its two serious defects, one—and that is common to all works of this type—is the author's partiality to the reigning sovereign; and the other is lack of dates which gives certain indefiniteness to the events described in it.

The Chaghtāīs or the Indian Moghuls receive the author's attention in connection with the transactions relating to Qandahār, which are detailed in a spirit of gross partisanship. Moreover he frequently refers to the treatment offered by the Shāh to the so-called Prince Bulāqī and his cousin, Bāisanghar, both fugitives from India. Bulāqī, it seems, was a great favourite of the Shāh, for he frequently invited him from Qazvīn to participate in his drinking bouts.

Qisas-ul-Khāqānī.

Qisas-ul-Khāqānī—The work purports to be a history of the Safavī dynasty, but it is mainly devoted to the reigns of Shāh Safī and Shāh 'Abbās II. It is named Qisas-ul-Khāqānī because it describes the warlike deeds of Hazarat Sāhib Qirān Shāh 'Abbās Sānī. It is one of the few contemporary records which complete the reign of Shāh 'Abbās II. For the portion dealing with India the author, Walī Qulī Shāmlū, seems to be indebted to Mirzā Tāhir Vahīd, whom he quotes freely. But he also draws upon his personal knowledge to make the account as full as possible.

With a deep-rooted prejudice in his mind, of which he makes no secret, Walī Qulī Shāmlū glosses over and even omits to mention the events which he considers would show his sovereign at a disadvantage. Rhetoric, poetry, and imagina-

tion are utilised by him in turn to make the work interesting and stylish. In describing the transactions relating to Qandahār, the author frankly admits that he means to correct the exaggerations of Indian writers. In fact, it was probably the Latāi'f-ul-Akhbār which inspired him with the idea of writing the Qisas. He records the events which occurred in India, following the illness of Shāhjahān, as he heard them. But his partiality for Murād is quite evident, and the reason for it is that the Prince had solicited the help of Shāh 'Abbās, and professed the Shī'a faith. Aurangzīb is painted by the writer as an unscrupulous diplomat who deflected Murād from the right course, because after the battle of Sāmūgadh, so writes Walī Qulī, Murād was not inclined to besiege Agra, but suggested to his brother that they should repair to their father and apologise to him for their conduct. Walī Qulī suggests the name of Shaykh Mīr as Aurangzīb's agent in the game of duplicity.

Khuld-i-Barīn.

Khuld-i-Barīn—This is a comprehensive history of the Safavī dynasty written by a younger brother of Tāhir Vahīd, whose name cannot be traced owing to the loss of the earlier portion of the work dealing with the reign of Shāh 'Abbās I and his predecessors. The author says that he entered the Imperial service in the later years of Shāh Safī's reign and served as a clerk in the Revenue department. Later when the artillery department was organised on a separate footing, he was appointed *vazīr* of the *Topkhāna*. He completed the work in 1701.

The privileged position which the author occupied must have provided him with an excellent opportunity to obtain his information from primary sources, and even to observe personally the events which he has recorded. But like many others of his time, the gift of impartiality was denied to him—probably it was not regarded as an enviable quality in those days. His detailed account of the reign of Shāh Safī is probably the only contemporary record of the time, when blood was shed without compunction and murder was the order of the day. But instead of being horrified at the ghastly tragedies which were

enacted with an unparalleled savagery, the author of the Khuld-i-Barīn attempts to justify them. Again when he deals with the Turkish wars, his partiality becomes almost criminal, inasmuch as even the defeat of the Persian is so portrayed as to create an impression of success. As to the account of the reign of Shāh 'Abbās II, the author's only contribution is that he brings down the history to 1660.

In the Khuld-i-Barīn we find more detailed information about Indian topics than is given by Tāhir Vahīd. For instance, the author fully indicates the reasons of 'Alī Mardān Khān's suspicions of Shāh Safī, and details at length the attempts of the latter to entice the governor of Qandahār to court to mete out the same bloody fate to him as to so many other officers. Again the author refers more fully to the entertainment of Bulāqī at the Persian court, though he expresses some doubts about the bonafides of the refuge. He also gives a short account of the War of Succession in India, emphasises the treachery of Aurangzīb, and mentions the arrival of Murād's ambassador at the Persian court and the preparations which the Shāh made to send help to him, and later to Dārā. Another little known but interesting fact mentioned by him is the proposed campaign of Bulāqī to recover the throne of India. He repaired from Qazvīn to Isfahān to solicit the Shāh's assistance, but when he heard of the imprisonment of Murād he silently retired to his residence.

In spite of its serious defects the Khuld-i-Barīn is a very useful authority for the study of the history of Persia, especially the reigns of Shāhs Safī and 'Abbās II, which have received but scant attention from modern writers. Its chronology, though sometimes vague, is very helpful, and when applied to the work of Tāhir Vahīd makes it definite and clear.

Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh—This is a general history from the time of Hazarat Nūh to the time of Shāh 'Abbās II. From the extracts preserved in the British Museum Oriental Collection No. 2060, it is difficult to form any general estimate of the usefulness

Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh.

or otherwise of the work. Its compiler Kamāl Khān bin Jalāl calls himself one of the house-born of the Persian court. He was ordered by the Shāh to accompany the Commander-in-Chief Rustam Khān to the Georgian campaign in 1631-32. Again when the officers sent to Qandahār requisitioned the services of an astrologer (1648-49), the choice of the Shāh fell on the author. Thus he was intimately connected with court, and obtained a personal knowledge of the contemporary events. His account of the general executions of Shāh Safī's reign is simple and unvarnished ; but his notice of the siege of Qandahār is too brief. He refers to the arrival of Bulāqī at the Persian court and to the reception which was accorded him.

Diaries and contemporary correspondence.

Four books which may be called diaries deserve mention here : (1) The Subh-i-Sādiq by Md. Sādiq bin Md. Sālih gives an account of a large number of saints, literati, poets and philosophers with whom the author came in contact during his sojourn in Gujarāt, Mālwa, Jaunpūr, Bengal, Bihār, and the Deccan.

(2) *Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahānī* by Sādiq Khān is in fact an anthology, because it gives an account of poets and philosophers from the time of Tīmūr to the early years of Shāhjahān's reign. In the latter part of this work the author writes from personal knowledge and gives a vivid account of some of the celebrated men of his time, with whom he came into contact. From the stray references in the Tabaqāt we can gather some idea of the educational system in Seventeenth Century India.

(3) *'Arzdāsht* : This work is a collection of letters written by Sayyid Khān Jahān to court, and at the end are appended three short sketches by Shaykh Jalāl Hisārī, who was a news-reporter of the Sayyid. One of these sketches is a history of Gwālior based on a Hindī work found in the possession of a Brahman named Shyām, whose ancestors were old inhabitants of the place. The other is a notice of the rebellion of Jujhār Singh, in the suppression of which Khān Jahān took a

prominent part. Shaykh Jalāl assigns a fantastic origin to the Bundelas ; he says that their ancestors migrated from Būndī, and the dynasty they founded was named after the town of their original residence. The third sketch is an account of the activities of Sayyid Khān Jahān in the Nūrpūr campaign. The letters which were collected by Bālkrishna, a pupil of Shaykh Jalāl, throw some important light on the activities cf Champat Rāy after the downfall of the house of Bīr Singh Dev.

(4) *Latāi'ful Akhbār* by Badī'uz-Zamān Rashīd Khān. This is a journal of the expedition of Prince Dārā Shikoh to Qandahār. In the preface the author gives a short account of the two previous expeditions led by Aurangzīb. The work is a plain record of events as they occurred from day to day at Qandahār. The author wrote it for his friends and not to please any patron, and accordingly he is outspoken and reliable. It is erroneous to suppose that Badī'uz-Zamān was a panegyrist of Dārā. On the contrary he freely describes the credulousness and superstition of the prince, who spent large sums of money to invoke the aid of saints, most of whom were impostors. An important cause of Dārā's failure was according to Badī'uz-Zamān his inactivity due to placing too much reliance on Ja'far Khān his Mīr Ātish, which estranged from the prince experienced officers like Rājā Jai Singh and Qulij Khān. Further the author vividly records the bragging of the Imperial officers before the Qandahār campaign. Dārā's minor son Sulaimān Shikoh built a mimic fort of Qandahār, besieged it and conquered it. Ja'far Khān said that his gaze would be sufficient to conquer Qandahār, but to this Chhatrasāl retorted : " Even if you turn a crow and attempt to fly over it, the chances are that you would be shot down, before you could cast a look on the fort."

The following eight collections of contemporary correspondence form a very useful record and throw valuable light on the history of the period :

(1) *'Ināyet-nāma* by 'Ināyet Khān Rāsikh, son of Sham-

suddīn Lutfullah Khān, who compiled this work when he was in his 49th year. The author was a brother of Shākir Khān, the author of a history of Muhammad Shāh and his successors.

(2) *Jāmi'ul-Inshā'*.

(3) *Jāmi'ul Marāsilāt-fi-Ululbāb*.

(4) *Marāsilāt Qutbshāhī*—Letters of Nizāmulmulk Hājī 'Abdullah on behalf of 'Abdullah Qutbshāh and Abul Hasan to Shāhjahān, Dārā, Aurangzīb, Shujā' and the 'Ādilshāh of Bījāpūr.

(5) *Munshā't Tāhir Vahīd*.

(6) *Bahār-i-Sukhan*—The author Md. Sālih Kambū began to collect letters addressed by Shāhjahān and Aurangzīb to the rulers of Persia and Trans-Oxiana, and also those written by various court officers; but the work was interrupted by the death of Maulānā Abul Barkāt Munīr, who had proposed to write a preface to the collection. After completing the collection Md. Sālih submitted it for revision to Maulānā Abul Fath Multānī. There are four *chamans* or gardens: the first consists of political correspondence, and in this the most important letter is that of Aurangzīb to 'Abdul 'Azīz Khān of Trans-Oxiana, in which the former communicates the news of his victory to the latter, and justifies the execution of Dārā, whom he charges with heresy. The second *chaman* comprises personal letters, the third consists of the writer's compositions in praise of Shāhjahānābād (Dihlī), Lahore, Akbarābād (Agra), Kashmir and the court ceremonials, especially the decorations in the fort of Agra at the time of Shāhjahān's weighing ceremony; the fourth *chaman* consists of miscellaneous letters to officials.

(7) *Chār Chaman*—This work of Munshī-uz-Zamān Chandra Bhān has been noted in the tenth chapter.

(8) *Ādāb-i-'Ālamgīrī*—This work is a collection of letters written by Qābil Khān on behalf of Aurangzīb. These letters vividly portray the character of the prince, and truly reveal his ambitions and aspirations. When Aurangzīb was the viceroy of the Deccan, he regularly wrote to his father, and in every

letter he prayed for the long life and prosperity of the Emperor. God did vouchsafe a fairly long life to Shāhjahān, as to prosperity it ceased after his deposition. Another interesting fact gleaned in this correspondence is Shāhjahān's love for the Deccan mangoes, and his instructions to Aurangzīb for a regular supply.

European travellers.

Quite a large number of European travellers visited India in the first half of the seventeenth century. They have left accounts of what they saw and experienced in this country. But unfortunately their narratives are vitiated by an attempt on their part to cater to the imagination of their readers. Moreover a majority of them were obsessed with the idea of race superiority, and were thus unable to appreciate properly the institutions which they describe. Their common epithet of 'barbarian' to Indians is a clear proof of their narrow outlook. Also some of them were half-educated men and were unfit either to observe correctly or to record their impressions precisely; and most of them were not in a position to obtain authentic information about political affairs, hence they content themselves by reproducing rumours and current gossip. In the case of those travellers who were well-educated and highly connected, a serious defect of another type is noticeable. They compare the Moghul government and Indian institutions with an ideal system which they have in their mind, and naturally when it falls short of their expectations they emphasise the evils without making due allowance for the good. These considerations have created in my mind suspicions about the veracity of the assertions of European travellers, and I hesitate to believe them in their criticism of the medieval institutions whether political or social. Moreover, I think that a comparison of the medieval institutions with the modern institutions to establish the superiority of the latter, as has been done by many modern writers who believe these European travellers implicitly, is not only essentially erroneous, but also expresses a want of faith in the principle of evolution.

Before setting forth a critical estimate of every individual traveller whom I have consulted, I consider it necessary to refer to a series of published documents which are a mine of information. By editing the records of the East India Company William Foster has done a great service to the cause of Indian history. The two series 'East India Company Records' (1602—17) and 'The English Factories in India' (1618—56) besides giving us an account of the growth of the English trade in India, often furnish useful information about contemporary political events. In this connection it should be noted that the periodical letters of the Chief of the Surat Factory to England are very interesting. But the statements to be found in these letters are to be accepted with caution, since sometimes gossip and rumours are reproduced, though not with any mischievous intentions.

Sir Thomas Roe.

Among the early travellers who visited the court of Jahāngīr, Sir Thomas Roe stands out most prominently. In his diary he refers to Prince Khurram, sketches his character and portrays his personality. Gujarāt being the *Jāgīr* of Prince Khurram, Sir Thomas Roe naturally came much in contact with him; and as the English ambassador could not always have his way he was chagrined, and gives a very unfavourable picture of the Moghul Empire. His account of court factions, however, is very interesting.

Pelsaert.

Francoys Pelsaert arrived in India in December 1620 as a junior factor in the Dutch factory. During most of the time that he was here, he stayed at Agra. He returned to Holland at the end of 1627. His work, *Remonstrantee*, is a record of his seven years' experience. He describes Àgra, Lahore, Kashmir and Burhānpūr, towns which perhaps he actually visited. He holds Prince Khurram responsible for the murder of Khusrav, and strongly denounces the dominance of Nūr Jahān. His remarks about the district courts and the prohibition of the slaughter of cows are interesting. He attributes this prohibition to a regard on the part of

the government to Hindū sentiment, and also to economic reasons because the oxen 'do everything that is done by horses in Holland.'

De Laet.

De Laet should, strictly speaking, not be included among European travellers, since he never visited India. His work is only a compilation. It has been translated by Hoyland and Banerjī. At the end of it there is a confused account of the rebellion of Prince Shāhjahān, the death of Jahāngīr and the accession of Shāhjahān.

Pietro Della Valle.

Pietro Della Valle, a well educated Italian, arrived at Sūrat on February 10, 1623, and during his stay of four years in India visited many important towns in the Deccan. He honestly records the events which he witnessed, and makes a sincere attempt to be truthful. His historical narrative is fairly accurate, but for a fanciful description of the adventures of Bābur, who is not mentioned by name, and the explanation of the cause of Khurram's rebellion, which he has placed in an imaginary setting. Again he erroneously remarks that the Qutbshāh did not help the rebel prince because he was in awe of Jahāngīr. The hint of Della Valle concerning Āsaf Khān's partiality for Khurram is very interesting. Like Pelsaert he also holds Khurram responsible for the murder of Khusrav. He notices the freedom of conscience in the Moghul dominions, and the respect for Hindū sentiments by the prohibition in Cambay of the slaughter of cows. He has not much to say about the contemporary administration, but his account of the towns and cities which he visited is very graphic.

Sir Thomas Herbert.

The only credentials of Sir Thomas Herbert for writing an account of the Moghul Empire are that he had set foot on Indian soil for a short time. He begins his description from the time of Tīmūr, who is introduced as the gaoler of Sultān Bāyazīd, and it goes down to the accession of Shāhjahān. The reigns of Akbar and Jahāngīr occupy the greater part of the narrative, and practically no important event has been left out ; but the

writer pays little attention either to the chronology or to the sequence of events and sometimes displays colossal topographical ignorance which he tries to conceal under his charming style. He attributes the murder of Khusrav to Prince Khurram, and adduces wrong causes for the rebellion of the latter against his father. He aptly styles 'Abdullah Khān Fīroz Jang ' the weathercock of the country.' His account of Shāhjahān's doings in Bengal is very confused.

Mandelslo.

Johann Albert Von Mandelslo was a young German who parted company with his friends the ambassadors of the Duke of Holstein to Persia, and arrived at Sūrat in April 1638. Later in the year he made a tour up the country and visited Ahmadābād, Cambay, Agra and Lahore. He left Sūrat in January 1639 and within twelve months of his departure reached Dover. Olearius published the full narrative of Mandelslo in 1658, and four years later appeared a French version by Abraham de Wicquefort, who according to William Foster took many liberties with the original. It was from this distorted version that John Davis made the English translation, and in the absence of any better and more accurate one, I have consulted this version.

Mandelslo gives a detailed account of the Moghul administrative system, some of which is imaginary, the rest bearing a resemblance to actual facts. He describes the city and fort of Agra, and refers to the festivals of Naurūz and weighing ceremony. He ascribes a wrong origin to *ta'zias* (processions of mimic tombs in honour of Hasan and Husain, the latter of whom was martyred in the battle of Karblā), and says that on this occasion no Hindūs were allowed to appear in the streets. Further he says that Shāhjahān usurped the throne from Bulāqī whom Mandelslo had seen at Qazvīn, and he notices Shāhjahān's liking for naked dances.

Peter Mundy.

Peter Mundy arrived at Sūrat in 1628, and was in 1630 appointed to the Agra Factory. During his eight years' stay in India he visited a large number of towns in Mālwa, the modern United Provinces and

Bihār. That he tried to observe accurately is evident from his references to some of the peculiar socio-religious customs of the Hindūs, which did not attract the attention of other foreign visitors to India.

Among general topics of interest to be found in his narrative mention should be made of his account of Gwālior castle ; the method of measuring distance ; the skill of Indian barbers in massage ; the explanation of *pān* (betel leaf), *bahangī* (a long bamboo pole to carry heavy things) and similar other objects. His description of Agra, its markets and its houses, is both vivid and picturesque.

He has also a great deal to say about the King and the court. He describes an elephant fight, *cheeta* hunting, methods of capturing wild elephants, the King's procession during Bakr-'Id celebrations, the marriages of Dārā and Shujā' ; the Naurūz ; and the Mīnā Bazār (Fancy bazar). He compares Fathpūr-Sīkrī to European cities in point of conformity of buildings, and says that the Moghul Kings drink no other water but that of the river Ganges. He also notices the presence of Brahman and Musalmān astrologers at court because of the King's superstition about auspicious times.

Of contemporary political events Mundy refers to the story of the impostor Bāisanghar in Balkh ; to the order of Shāhjahān for the demolition of temples in Benares ; to the esteem enjoyed by Āsaf Khān and Mahābat Khān ; to the greed and tyranny of 'Abdullah Khān Fīroz Jang ; to Shāhjahān's campaign in the Deccan, and to the appointment of Mahābat Khān to conquer Daulatābād. He also mentions some events which occurred prior to the accession of Shāhjahān, e.g., the murder of Khusrav, the attempt of Nūr Jahān to secure the throne for her son-in-law, and the part played by Āsaf Khān in checkmating her schemes. But his account of the reigns of Salīm Shāh and Shīr Shāh is hopeless ; and his reference to Nūr Jahān as the mother of Shāhjahān is absurd. Similarly his assertion that Jahāngīr nominated Bulāqī as his successor is based on bazar gossip.

His account of the Moghul system of government is a mixed yarn, but his picture of the severe famine of 1630, and the description of the sufferings of the people is very touching.

Sebastian Manrique, a Portuguese from Oporto, was attached to Bengal mission in 1629, and he remained for the next six years in Arakān. He spent three years (1637—40) in a long voyage to Philippines and China, and the year 1640-41 saw him travelling through Northern India from Dacca to Qandahār, on his way to Europe. He reached Rome in 1643 and published his work *Itenerario* in 1649. He was murdered in 1669.

Manrique.

The major portion of his work is devoted to the description of Arakān, and the accuracy with which he paints the picture of the social life of the time renders his narrative of inestimable value. Though a missionary and a Roman Catholic he is ungrudging in his appreciation of really good features in the Eastern civilisation ; and unlike most of the contemporary travellers he gives little evidence of European bias. It is true that he adds little to our information, but the touch of personal experience running throughout his work enhances its importance.

In Northern India he was struck by the richness of the people, the fertility of the soil and the abundance and cheapness of victuals. He pays tribute to the skill of ' the barbarians in the game of chess, grows eloquent in his praise of mango, and speaks highly of the orderliness in the Moghul camp. His reference to the system of mass education in Arakān, which centred round the temples and monasteries, is interesting : and his description of the licence and luxury of the Moghuls is quite true. He gives a detailed account of every town which he visited, and refers to the weighing ceremony of the Moghul Emperor, the Moghul *darbār*, and the growing building of the Tāj, which he says, was planned by Germino Veroneo.

Of the contemporary political events Manrique records only a few. He mentions the treacherous surrender of Qandahār,

and the rumoured attempt of the governor of Farah for its recovery. He also refers to the enormous influence of Āsaf Khān whom he calls '*secundus de rege*.' He mentions the marriage of Shujā' to the daughter of Mirzā Rustam Safavī.

Manrique, like so many others, when he deals with historical events of which he had no personal knowledge, mixes up facts with fiction. The most outstanding instance of this is the account of the rebellion of Shāhjahān. He says little about the reduction of Huglī except what he has mentioned in connection with the story of Father de Christo who was for nine years in prison at Agra. But while dealing with Arakān he throws some sidelights on the nature of the Portuguese activities which provoked the Moghul attack. He has copied the account of the Moghul government from De Laet.

Richard Bell and John Campbell.

The travels of Richard Bell and John Campbell have been reproduced by Sir Richard Temple in the Indian Antiquary (1906—8) from the British Museum Sloane Collection No. 811. According to the editor "Bell wrote down, from dictation, John Campbell's wonderful stories, which record facts strangely distorted in the telling." Even the chronology of those events which John Campbell says he witnessed personally is abominable. Murād is called the eldest son of Shāhjahān and Aurangzīb the youngest, and the whole account of the War of Succession is confused and unintelligible. There are certain assertions which are palpably false, e.g., Murād being trampled to death by order of Aurangzīb; and Shāhjahān being 130 years old on the eve of his deposition. Yet Campbell repeats the story of Dārā dismounting from his elephant at the suggestion of some noble, which brought about his death: and similarly he records the slight offered to Aurangzīb's envoy in Persia, when the Shāh said "Why should Aurangzīb call himself 'Ālamgīr? He has not conquered the Turk or the Christian: he has only imprisoned his father and destroyed his family." The description of Qandahār is interesting.

Of all the European travellers who have recorded their

impressions about the East, Bernier's account is most popular.

Bernier. He was a highly educated man and possessed an acute sense of observation. Before coming to India he had visited Palestine, Syria and Egypt. He sailed from Cairo for Sūrat towards the end of 1658, and he was on his way to Agra when he met Dārā near Ahmadābād ; the latter having retreated to Gujarāt after his defeat at Deorāī near Ajmīr. During what he calls his twelve years' stay in India, Bernier visited Lahore, Kashmir, Rājmahall, Qāsimbazār, Masulīpatam, and Golconda. At the last place he heard of the death of Shāhjahān. Travelling through Persia he reached Marseilles in 1669, published his work a year after, and died in 1688.

At Dihlī Bernier was patronised by Dānishmand Khān, a leading *mansabdār* at court ; and in his narrative he occasionally refers to the sources of his information. The battle of Dharmat was described to him by a French gunner in the service of Aurangzīb ; the account of the last fate of Shujā' he obtained from the Portuguese, the Muhammadans, and the Dutch who were present in Bengal ; the description of the Moghul *seraglio* he based upon the testimony of eunuchs. He also consulted European merchants long settled in the country, ambassadors, consuls and interpreters.

Thus from his own admission it is clear that although he tapped many sources to obtain information about the Moghul court and its life, his knowledge of the facts which he describes was not strictly personal. Moreover being a highly cultured man, he sometimes finds it impossible to divorce reality from idealism. His eloquent description of the tyranny of Moghul governors, and the discussion of the evils of despotic government, are instances of this type. Naturally he comes to conclusions which are not borne out by the testimony of other contemporary writers. He is obsessed with the superiority of French institutions.

Nevertheless his description of the War of Succession is very graphic, though his portraiture of the character of Jahān

Ārā is far from accurate. He personally witnessed Dārā being paraded in Dihlī, as also Sulaimān Shikoh's arrival at court. He says that Aurangzīb allowed his captive father complete freedom inside the fort, a fact which is controverted by Manucci. Among the political events of Shāhjahān's reign, he mentions the reduction of Huglī, the conquest of the Little Tibet, and Shāhjahān's orders for the demolition of temples. His observations on the defects in the military system of the Moghuls are correct, but his statements regarding the strength of the army are not so reliable. His description of Dilhī, Agra and Kashmir is interesting, and his tribute to the Tāj well-deserved.

Tavernier.

Jean-Baptiste Tavernier may be regarded as a prince of ramblers. By the age of 21 he had seen the best part of France, England, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Poland, Hungary, and Italy; and he possessed a fair knowledge of European languages. His six voyages in the East have made him famous in history. He visited India for the first time in 1640, and during the succeeding years his travels extended to the greater portion of this country. He became a friend of Bernier, and travelled to Bengal with him. He is indebted to his colleague and countryman in the account of his travels.

Tavernier's work is important for the commercial history of the period. His description of roads and highways is full of interest, as also his occasional remarks on the social life of the people. His chapter on political history is a mixed yarn. He says that Shāhjahān ascended the throne treacherously, arrested all the suspicious nobles and princes, and confined them in Gwālior, but allowed them to enjoy the revenues of their property. The account of the conquest of Daulatābād is imaginary, and the story of the War of Succession has perhaps been copied from Bernier. But he gives a fairly correct version of the affair of Mīr Jumla, and of the events leading to the marriage of Sultān Muhammad with the daughter of the Qutbshāh. His account of Shāhjahān's rebellion is very unsatisfactory, probably because of his ignorance. But his

description of the precious stones of the Moghul Emperor is very reliable. He says that Aurangzīb showed him the collection ; and he had dealings with Shāyista Khān and Mīr Jumla. According to him Shāhjahān was a great connoisseur of precious stones ; and his remark that 'where *baniyāns* refuse to bite there is nothing to be hoped for by the Franks is a tribute to the cleverness of the Indian merchant class.

By far the most voluminous writer among the European travellers of the first half of the seventeenth century is Manucci.

Niccolao Manucci.

He left Venice while still a boy of 14 years, and spent the rest of his life in the East, especially in India. He possessed a working knowledge of Persian and Turkī which helped him to enter the service of Dārā, whom he served with sincerity and devotion. He was present at the battle of Sāmūgadh, escaped to Lahore to join his patron, and followed him to Multān and Bhakkar, where he was appointed to guard the fort with the eunuch Basant. After the surrender of Bhakkar he went to Lahore, whence he repaired to Dihlī. He was pressed by I'tibār Khān to enter Aurangzīb's service, but he refused. After Aurangzīb's departure to Kashmir, Manucci set out on a long journey to Bengal. On his return he entered the service of Rājā Jai Singh, whom he followed to the Deccan. He resigned his post in 1666, and after a fairly adventurous life settled down at Lahore, where he practised as a physician for seven or eight years. In 1678 he entered the service of Shāh 'Ālam, with whom he was present during the Rājpūt and the Deccan campaigns of Aurangzīb. He died in 1717.

In the body of his work, which he wrote at the instance of Francois Martin and Boureau Deslandes, Manucci constantly refers to the authorities and sources of his information. As indicated above, he was in the service of Rājā Jai Singh, and was friendly with his son Kīrat Singh. Amānat Khān, Mirzā Lahrāsp son of Mahābat Khān, Fidāī Khān, he counted among his intimates. It may reasonably be presumed that

being a favourite of Dārā and the Begum Sāhib he must have come in touch with a host of other officers.

He obtained his information about the battle of Dharmat from some high nobles who participated in it, and from the European gunners of Aurangzīb. He personally took part in the battle of Sāmūgadh ; Jai Singh told him about the activities of Sulaimān Shikoh ; the details of the battle of Khajwa were communicated to him by Mirzā Jānī, governor of Rājmahall, and Muhammad Moghul governor of Huglī ; and the account of the battle of Deorāī was obtained by him from an attendant of Mīr Taqī. Thus on the whole his description of the War of Succession is accurate ; but his references to the reigns preceding that of Shāhjahān are a tissue of absurdities.

William Irvine rightly observes that Manucci has not copied from others with the partial exception of Bernier. There is no doubt that Manucci was a better informed and more experienced man than Bernier, whom he contradicts vehemently and holds in utter contempt. His other objects of scorn were the Portuguese, the Jesuits, and Aurangzīb ; and like many others, he takes a very low view of Indian character, both Hindū and Muhammadan. Manucci is a useful but not a very reliable authority.

Conclusion.

From a study of the above mentioned authorities I have come to the conclusion that Shāhjahān's reign was the most glorious epoch in the Medieval period. There was peace and prosperity and an all-round development of art and literature. The most gorgeous buildings were erected in this reign, and the most ambitious military campaigns were undertaken. But underneath this glittering array of pomp and magnificence, signs of decline are also noticeable, and the source of a large number of disastrous tendencies which culminated in a crash after the death of Aurangzīb, may with justice be traced to the reign of Shāhjahān.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Ā'īn	... Ā'īn-i-Akbarī.
A. N.	... Akbarnāma.
'Arzdāsht ...	... Letters of Sayyid Muzaffar Bārah Khān Jahān.
Basātīn ...	... Basātīn-us-Salātīn.
B. M.	... British Museum Catalogue of Persian MSS.
Futūhāt ...	... Futūhāt-i-'Ādilshāhī.
Hadīqat ...	... Hadīqat-us-Salātīn.
I. O. L. ...	... India Office Library, Catalogue of Persian MSS.
Iqbālnāma ...	... Iqbālnāma Jahāngīrī.
J. A. S. B. ...	... Journal of Asiatic Society, Bengal.
J. R. A. S. ...	... Journal of Royal Asiatic Society.
Lāhaurī ...	... Pādshahnāma.
Qazvīnī ...	... Pādshahnāma.
Qisas	... Qisas-al-Khāqānī.
R. B.	... Rogers and Beveridge, "The Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī."
Rieu	... British Museum Catalogue of Persian MSS.
Roe	... Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe.
Sālih	... 'Amal Sālih.
Tabātabāī ...	... Pādshahnāma of Tabātabāī.
Tabaqāt ...	... Tabaqāt-Shāhjahānī.
Wāris ...	... Pādshāhnāma.

NOTE :—For Majmū'a-i-Marāsilāt read Jāmi' 'Marāsilāt-fī-Ululbāb.

HISTORY OF SHAHJAHAN

CHAPTER I

CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

PRINCE KHURRAM, better known to history as Shāhjahān the magnificent, was born on the night of Thursday the 5th January, 1592, at Lahore[1] in the 36th year of his grandfather's reign. His mother was the Rājpūt Princess Mānmatī or Jagat Gosāīn whom Salīm had married in 1586.[2] She was the daughter of the Motā Rājā Uday Singh.

Birth.

The infant saw the light under the Zodiac sign of Libra,[3] a constellation which betokened an august destiny and a stormy career. Court astrologers cast his horoscope and were unanimous in predicting extraordinarily good fortune for him, which the poets were not slow to sing in their ingeniously composed verses. Quotations from two of them are well worth notice[4] :—

His future.

(1) A ray of the world-penetrating sun.

[1] A. N., Vol. III, p. 921; Jahāngīr puts the date of birth in 999 A. H. which is clearly wrong. R. B., Vol. I, p. 19; Qazvīnī, f. 116, Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 16; Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī, f. 42.

[2] A. N., Vol. III, p. 749. Beni Prasad, p. 30. n. 5; Beale wrongly calls her Bālmatī, p. 363; Kavirāj Shyāmal Dās says that her other name was Jodhbāī, but he places the date of marriage in 1588. J.A.S.B., 1888, p. 71. Manrique also gives her name as Bālmatī, Vol. II, p. 201.

[3] A. N., Vol. III, p. 921; See the horoscopes of Shāhjahān in Qazvīnī and Lāhaurī.

[4] It is doubtful if any of these chronograms was composed at the time of birth. They are not recorded in any work earlier than the Pādshāhnāma. The pun on the word 'Ālamgīr in the first, and on Shāh-i-Jahān in the second supports this view.

F. 3

(2) King of the earth, and monarch of the universe. And if any importance can be attached to the so-called prophetic vision of the poets, the second of these two chronograms is truly indicative of the future life of the Prince.

Akbar's joy.

To Akbar the advent of this grandson was of more than ordinary interest. It was doubly welcome: it brought him the usual felicity, but, more than that, it revived the drooping spirits of his childless wife Ruqiah Sultān Begum.[5] Her astrologer Gobind had predicted to her the happy event, and had advised her to adopt the child. So when, in accordance with the custom obtaining among the royalty, on the sixth day after the birth of the child, Akbar was invited by his son Salīm to give a name to this new-born babe, he christened him Khurram or 'joyous.' And verily did he diffuse joy in the Imperial household. The same day he was handed over to Ruqiah Begum who adopted him; and henceforward until he reached the age of discretion he grew up under the fostering care of his grandmother.

Education.

The practice among the Moghuls was to put a child to school soon after his circumcision. Accordingly when the prince was 4 years, 4 months and 4 days old his '*maktab*' ceremony was performed. The occasion was probably celebrated with the customary pomp and festivity.[6] His first teacher was Mullā Qāsim Beg Tabrezī,[7] a

5 R. B., Vol. I, p. 48; Qazvīnī, f. 18 mentions the story of Gobind's prediction. She died in the twentieth year of Jahāngīr's reign Iqbālnāma, p. 251.

6 Abul Fazl gives a detailed account of the '*maktab*' ceremony of Prince Salīm, and incidentally refers to the same ceremony of Khusrav, A. N., Vol. III, p. 922; but says nothing about Khurram's '*maktab*' ceremony. He, however, mentions the names of some of his teachers. The account of the formal ceremony is to be found only in later works, e.g., Qazvīnī, Sālih, and the versified Pādshāhnāmas. Qazvīnī, f. 34; Sālih, Vol. I, pp. 30—32.

7 Abul Fazl says that he had undergone great sufferings in spiritual contemplation, and many delightful Sūfic expressions fall from his lips. A. N., Vol. III, p. 1122. Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī says that he was distinguished

pupil of the renowned Mirzā Jān Tabrezī. Besides being a distinguished scholar and a master of rational sciences he was a Sūfī of high attainments, and probably one of the translators of Majmūa'h-i-Buldān, a stupendous work on geography. He was succeeded by an equally eminent man Hakīm 'Alī Gīlānī,[8] a physician of standing reputation, and a scholar of sterling merits. In medicine he was successively a pupil of his maternal uncle Hakīm-ul-mulk Shīrāzī, and of Shāh Fathullah Gīlānī, and in theology a student of Shaykh 'Abd-un-Nabī. The prince came more in contact with Hakīm 'Alī than with any other of his teachers, and seems to have been much attached to him. Later in his life he often remembered with a sense of pleasure and deep gratitude the debt he owed to Hakīm 'Alī for the knowledge he obtained from him during the most impressionable period of his training.[9] Among others who were entrusted with the duty of guiding and shaping the intellectual development of the prince, mention should be made of Shaykh Sūfī,[10] a disciple of Miyān Wajīhuddīn Gujarātī, a delightful poet, a man of sweet temperament, and a libertine. Another was Shaykh Abul

for his acquirements in rational sciences, p. 541; See also Blochmann, p. 517, and p. 106.

8 Both Qazvīnī and Sālih mention the name of Hakīm Davāī as tutor of Prince Khurram, but the only Davāī mentioned in the reign of Akbar is Hakīm 'Ain-ul-Mulk Shīrāzī, a descendant of the renowned logician Davvānī, and a friend of Badāonī. But the Hakīm Shīrāzī died in 1003 A. H., and obviously he could not have been a tutor of Prince Khurram. I have come to the conclusion that from Hakīm Davāī Hakīm 'Alī Gīlānī is meant. The latter was a nephew (sister's son) of Hakīm 'Ain-ul-Mulk, and may well have been known under the style of his uncle. Besides he was a constant companion of Prince Khurram, and Jahāngīr praises the abilities of Hakīm 'Alī. For Hakīm 'Ain-ul-Mulk see Badāonī, Vol. III, p. 164 and Blochmann, p. 481. For Hakīm 'Alī see Tabaqāt, f. 291; R. B., Vol. I, p. 68, p. 152, p. 154; Maāsir-ul-Umarā, Vol. I, pp. 568—73.

9 Qazvīnī, f. 34.

10 Tabaqāt, f. 299. Subh-Sādiq f. 100 gives an account of Md. Sūfī and says that he died in 1013 A.H. on his way to Lahore whither he was going in response to the summons of Jahāngīr.

Khayr brother of Shaykh Abul Fazl, "a well-informed young man of regulated mind."[11]

Contact with such eminent scholars may well be supposed to have quickened the intelligence of the boy-pupil. But, unlike his father's, his genius was more practical than contemplative. He soon acquired a knowledge of the Persian language, and a command over its expression, but he showed little interest in Turkī. Jahāngīr is recorded to have once complained to Ruqiah Begum about the prince's apathy towards the ancestral language[12]; and Akbar seems to have tried to remove this deficiency. In 1601 he appointed Tātār Khān to teach him Turkī.[13] It is doubtful how far the new teacher could create any enthusiasm in his young pupil. But Khurram was not a dull boy. He possessed a sharp wit, a wonderful memory, a love for details, and the capacity to master them.

Meagre knowledge of Turkī.

But a Moghul prince was not expected to be merely a lover of books. His education was so designed as to make him strong both in mind and in body. Akbar paid a due regard as well to the physical training of Khurram. When in 1597 A.D. he was going for the last time to Kashmir he left his grandson at Lahore under the guardianship of Mīr Murād Juwainī.[14] The Mīr was to teach him archery and to perform daily before him *taslīm-i-qūr*[15] Later when Khurram accompanied his grand-

Physical training.

[11] He was first the tutor of Khusrav. A. N., Vol. III, p. 922; See Blochmann's Introduction to Ā'in-i-Akbarī, xxxiii.

[12] Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 132-33; Qazvīnī says that Prince Khurram was familiar only with a few words of Turkī because of his association with Ruqiah Begum, f. 134.

[13] A. N., Vol. III, p. 1177; he was Bakāval Begī in the reign of Jahāngīr. R. B., Vol. I, p. 318.

[14] He was Bakhshī of Lahore in 1598. A. N., Vol. III, p. 1115; Blochmann, pp. 498-99; Qazvīnī, f. 34b.

[15] This was the customary salute among the Moghul sovereigns. It probably meant presenting of arms.

father to the Deccan, Akbar appointed Rājā Ṣālivāhan[16] to train him in rifle shooting. Riding and swordsmanship formed a part of his daily exercises and the prince showed more interest in them than in the dry lessons on rhetoric and prosody. Like his father he became a skilful shot both with rifle and with bow, and arrow, an indefatigable rider, an excellent swordsman, and a keen lover of all field sports.

On his return from Kashmir Akbar stopped only for a short time at Lahore, and then hastened to Agra. He now decided to send Salīm against the Rānā, and to go personally to the Deccan. Hence swift messengers were despatched to summon the ladies from Lahore, and on their arrival near Agra they were welcomed by the heir-apparent. Salīm before his departure to Mewār requested his father to let him take one of his sons with him. But Akbar was not prepared to part with Khurram, nor did he consider it wise to send Khusrav with him. But he had no objection to Parwīz's going with his father.[17]

Akbar keeps Khurram with himself.

It so happened however, that no sooner did Salīm leave Agra than Khurram fell ill of small-pox. His condition became serious, and his grandfather grew nervous. He quickly summoned skilful physicians to his bed-side, and prayed fervently for his early recovery. His prayers had the desired effect, and the Prince was soon cured. On the day that the customary bath was given to him, Akbar distributed alms with unstinted generosity and set many prisoners free. Thereafter Khurram went with his grandfather to the Deccan.[18]

Khurram ill.

16 Qazvīnī, f. 35; Ṣālivāhan took a special *shāwr* for Abul Fazl from the Court to the Deccan, A. N., Vol. III, p. 1197; Jahāngīr mentions him as coming from the Deccan with the elephants of Dāniyāl. R. B. Vol. I, p. 46.

17 Qazvīnī, ff. 35b-36.

18 Ibid., f. 36.

The rebellion of Salīm compelled Akbar to hasten to the North. When peaceful measures failed to bring round the recalcitrant prince, Akbar made up his mind to deal sternly with him. With a large army he left Agra in August 1604,[19] but was prevented from going further by the report of the sudden illness of the queen-dowager. At first he did not believe it, and thought that it was a move on the part of Mariyam Makānī to check him.[20] Salīm was her darling and she was opposed to any strong measures being taken against him. To assure himself that the illness was not a fabrication Akbar despatched Khurram and Hakīm 'Alī to Agra. Khurram went straight to the apartments of his great-grandmother and found that her condition was precarious. He immediately returned to his grandfather to tell him that if he wanted to see his mother alive he should quickly return to Agra. Akbar reached her bed-side just in time. She was in the throes of death, and expired a few hours after.[21]

Khurram sent to Agra.

After his grandmother's death Salīm submitted to his father. Akbar's health now began to decline rapidly. One day to while away his time he arranged an elephant fight between the animals of Khusrav and Salīm. He and Khurram watched the show from the *Jharoka* (window). In the combat Salīm's elephant gained the advantage, and moreover his men abused the followers of Khusrav. The latter rushed to complain of it to his grandfather, who sent Khurram to Salīm with a message to stop the affray.[22] Akbar retired from the scene much exhausted, and passed a restless night. In the morning he had an

Akbar's illness.

19 A. N., Vol. III, p. 1243.

20 Ibid., p. 1244. Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī, f. 57 does not mention Khurram's mission.

21 A. N., Vol. III, p. 1245; Qazvīnī says that Prince Khurram also was against harsh steps being taken against his father, and so he worded his report cleverly, ff. 36b-37.

22 Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī, ff. 59b—61.

attack of fever which was complicated by diarrhoea. He was lying at death's door.[23]

This gave an opportunity to the discontented spirits at the court to concoct seditious schemes. They attempted to change the mode of succession by raising Khusrav to the throne. To ensure success they planned to apprehend Salīm when he came to visit his ailing father; but a timely warning saved him from his enemies. He was, however, very anxious for the safety of his son Khurram, who was devotedly attached to Akbar,[24] and would not leave his bed-side. When his mother tried to persuade him, he firmly replied, "No! so long as there is one breath of life in Shāh Bābā nothing can induce me to leave him." And well it was that he did not accompany his mother, seeing that the conspirators had appointed men to seize him as soon as he left the royal apartments.[25].

Conspiracy.

Ultimately when the attempts of his enemies had failed Salīm went to pay his last respects to his father. Akbar signed to his attendants to invest the prince with his dagger and to put his turban on his head. When this had been done he closed his eyes for the last time. Now at length Salīm was able to prevail upon Khurram to accompany him.

Akbar's Death.

Exactly one week after his father's death Salīm ascended the throne, on Thursday October 24, 1605. Soon after this, the even tenor of his reign was disturbed by the outbreak of Khusrav, who on the evening of 6th April, 1606, escaped from Agra on the pretext of visiting Akbar's tomb. He took the road to the Panjāb, and on the way was joined by Husain Beg Badakhshī and 'Abd-ur-Rahīm. Jahāngīr was disturbed on hearing the report of Khusrav's escape, and ordered Shaykh Farīd Bokhārī

Salīm's accession.

23 A. N., Vol. III, pp. 1258—62.

24 Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī, ff. 61-62. R. B., Vol. I, p. 322.

25 Qazvīnī, ff. 38—40 admits (f. 40) that he has adapted these details from Jahāngīrnāma.

to pursue the rebel. He decided to follow himself shortly. As it was necessary to make some arrangement for the safety of the capital, a council of regency was formed. It included Shaykh 'Alā'-ud-Dīn, grandson of Shaykh Salīm, later styled Islām Khān and appointed governor of Bengal, Mirzā Ghiyās Beg Tehrānī, Dost Muhammad Khvāja Jahān, and Rājā Rāo Singh Bhurtiyah. Prince Khurram was appointed its president. This was his first formal contact with public affairs.[26]

Khurram's first contact with public affairs.

Khusrav's rebellion came to an end within less than a month, and Jahāngīr entered Lahore on May 9, 1606. Some of his loyal advisers suggested to him an immediate return to Agra because much was going amiss in Gujarāt, in the Deccan, and in Bengal.'[27] But the threatening attitude of the Persians led Jahāngīr to reject their proposal. He stayed in Lahore for the next eleven months watching the situation on the frontier. As he intended to make a tour of Kabul, so soon as conditions there returned to normal, he ordered Prince Khurram to come with Maryam-uz-Zamānī and other ladies to Lahore. When he arrived in the vicinity of Lahore, Jahāngīr went out to Dhār to meet his mother.[28] Prince Parwīz had already arrived at the Court, and so a happy family reunion was held.

Khurram goes with his father to Kabul.

It was during his father's stay in Lahore that Prince Khurram on March 21, 1607, received his first military rank of 8,000 *zāt* and 5,000 *suwār*, together with a *tuman-u-tūgh*, a flag, and drums.[29] About a week later he was betrothed to Arjumand Bānū Begum, the daughter of I'tiqād Khān,

Khurram betrothed to Arjumand Bānū Begum.

26 Iqbālnāma, p. 9; Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī, f. 71; Qazvīnī, f. 42, R. B., Vol. I, p. 76.

27 Ibid., p. 70.

28 Ibid., p. 76; Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī, f. 73; Qazvīnī, f. 43.

29 R. B., Vol. I, p. 87; Iqbālnāma wrongly gives 20,000, p. 222, Maāsir has 8,000 *zāt* and 5,000 *suwār*, f. 76.

the future Āsaf Khān. Jahāngīr with his own hands put the ring on the finger of his prospective daughter-in-law, and the occasion was celebrated with great rejoicings.[30] It was in the month of November of the same year that Jahāngīr on his return from Kabul assigned to Khurram a *jāgīr* in Ujjian, and the *sarkār* of Hisār Fīroza, and permitted him to pitch a red tent, a privilege generally accorded to the eldest prince only. To crown it all the *Muhr Uzak* was placed in his charge, and it was ordered that all *farmāns* and *parwānas* should bear his seal.[31]

Khurram renovates some buildings at Kabul.

The Persian danger was now over. Jahāngīr left Lahore on Thursday, 26th March, 1607, and after about ten weeks journey entered Kabul on 4th June, scattering gold and silver. The Urtahbāgh was assigned to be the residence of Prince Khurram. The existing buildings there not being to the Prince's taste, he soon carried out suitable alterations, after which he invited his father to visit the garden. Jahāngīr was exceedingly delighted with its renovated appearance, and with the tastefulness and noble proportions of the new buildings, and he passed the whole day in enjoyment and pleasure in the house of his son. It was on this occasion that to ward off the evil influence of the Stars, predicted by the court astrologers, the Emperor, contrary to the time-honoured custom, observed the lunar birth-day of the prince. He was weighed against gold, silver, and other metals which were distributed among the poor and needy.[32]

30 Qazvīnī, ff. 43-44.

31 During the *Naurūz* celebrations of the second year, according to the Tuzak, Prince Khurram only obtained the rank of 8,000 *zāt* and 5,000 *suwār*, a flag and drums, and a *jāgīr* (R.B., p. 87). The *Sarkār* of Hisār Fīroza was assigned to him later (R.B., p. 132). Iqbālnāma agrees with the Tuzuk (p. 22). But Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī says that Hisār Fīroza was also assigned to Khurram on this occasion (f. 76 b) and that he was declared heir-apparent. Qazvīnī (f. 44) follows the Maāsir and adds that the *Muhr Uzak* was also entrusted to the prince on this occasion. I have mentioned these two events separately in accordance with the Tuzuk.

32 R.B. Vol. I, p. 115; Qazvīnī, f. 44.

Khusrav had accompanied the royal cavalcade to Kabul, and here the rigour of his vigilance was slackened. He grew restless, and soon won over to his cause, other irresponsible youths such as Sharīf, son of I'timād-u-Dowlah, Nūr-ud-Dīn nephew of Āsaf Khān, and I'tibār Khān. They were further able to enlist the sympathy of about 400 more kindred souls, and planned to murder the Emperor at some moment when he was unguarded, and to liberate the prince. The plot might well have succeeded but for the compunction of one of the party who made a clear confession of it to Khvāja Wāi's, the Dīwān of Prince Khurram. An inkling of the conspiracy had already reached Āsaf Khān from some other quarter, but the first to communicate the important information to the Emperor was the young Khurram. He ran to his father, and related to him the plans of the conspirators. As a result the arch-culprits were apprehended and punished ; and the movement was stifled. Khusrav was ordered to be blinded. But this important discovery by one of his own officers, which so timely saved the life of the Emperor added to the glory of Prince Khurram. He now stood higher than ever in the estimation of his father.[33]

Khusrav's plot.

Jahāngīr had already set out from Kabul when the conspiracy occurred. After its suppression he resumed his march, and on the way at several places indulged in his favourite pastime of *qamurghah*.[34] At Hasan Abdāl both Khurram and Parwīz were allowed to participate in the hunt.[35] The party reached Lahore on 23rd November, 1607, and after a little more than six months' stay, the journey to Agra was continued. The Emperor entered the capital on the 12th March, 1608.

The Court returns to Agra.

33 R.B., Vol. I, pp. 122-23; Iqbālnāma, pp. 28—30; Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī only mentions it in a sentence, f. 79.

34 It is a kind of hunt in which the animals are driven towards the centre of a circle, and the hunters shoot or kill the prey from a very close range.

35 R. B., Vol. I, p. 129.



Khurram betrothed to the daughter of Mirzā Muzaffar Husain Safavī

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Prince Khurram was now a stripling of 16 years, and it was necessary to provide for him a separate house and establishment. But Jahāngīr did not like to keep him away from himself, so he assigned to him the house of Md. Muqīm styled Wizīr Khān, which was situated inside the fort near the royal apartments. As in Kabul, so here, the prince gave proof of his architectural tastes. He remodelled the house to suit his own taste, and then invited his father to visit it. According to etiquette the prince offered costly presents which Jahāngīr accepted with pleasure.[36]

On September 7, 1609, Prince Khurram received from his father a ruby with two single pearls worth about 40,000 rupees.[37]

Khurram betrothed to the Safavid princess. Why?

Four months later he was betrothed to the daughter of Mirzā Muzaffar Husain Safavī, a lineal descendant of Shāh Ismā'īl of Persia.[38] Why Jahāngīr should have gone out of his way to contract this alliance, especially when the prince was already engaged to Arjumand Bānū, seems at first sight inexplicable. No doubt, polygamy was more of a rule than an exception in the Moghul house, but this was something quite different. Prince Khurram had not yet been married to his first *fiancee*: where was the need of having another? The plea that he was of marriageable age cannot be advanced, because he was not immediately married to the Safavid princess, on the contrary, the celebration of the actual rite was postponed for about a year. Nor is there any hint in the contemporary records of Khurram's having suddenly fallen in love with her: at least his later life does not warrant such a conclusion. Finally, no political motive can be seen behind the move.

36 Qazvīnī, f. 45.

37 R. B., Vol. I, p. 156.

38 R. B., Vol. I, p. 159; Iqbālnāma, p. 38; Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī, f. 89b; Qazvīnī gives a detailed account of the ancestry of Muzaffar Husain Safavī, ff. 45-46b.

Something significant must have happened to change the mind of the Emperor. In the absence of any other evidence, it is necessary to read between the lines ; and to examine certain circumstances in the light of well-known facts. Shīr Afgan was killed in Bengal on March 30, 1607, and his wife Mihrun-Nisā' was summoned to court. After her arrival she was placed on the staff of Salīmah Begum the dowager-empress. It is highly probable that, shortly after this, Jahāngīr saw her, fell in love with her and began to press his suit assiduously. When he failed to win the highly sentimental lady, he naturally resorted to other tactics. He might have threatened to cloud her niece's happiness by superseding her, and to show that he was serious he betrothed his son to the Persian princess. But when the move did not produce the desired effect, Jahāngīr celebrated the marriage of the prince on October 29, 1610. He went to the latter's house and passed the night there. He also presented robes of honour to most of the *amirs*, and released many prisoners from the fort of Gwālior.[39]

Khurram's part in a lion hunt.

About a fortnight after this when Jahāngīr was one evening engaged in a *cheetah* hunt, Anūp Rāy, who was leading the party, by chance saw a half-eaten bullock near a big tree. In another instant a powerful tiger emerged out of a clump of thickets, and rushed past him. He immediately despatched men to inform Jahāngīr who rode to the spot in great haste and excitement. He was accompanied by Prince Khurram, Rām Dās, I'timād Rāy, and Hayāt Khān. Jahāngīr's horse shied at the sight of the tiger who had taken shelter under a tree, and so he dismounted. Prince Khurram stood a short distance off on the left, and others took their positions behind him. Jahāngīr's first shot missed the tiger, but being struck by the second, it ran, charged and wounded the chief huntsman, and then retired to its former position. Hardly had Jahāngīr fixed his aim and fired for the third time, when the animal made a furious dash

39 R. B., Vol. I, p. 180; Iqbālnāma, p. 46; Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī, f. 94.



Prince Khurram drew the sword and struck the tiger on the loins

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at the party, who losing their nerve fell one upon another. In fact two or three of them even walked over Jahāngīr, until he was assisted to rise up by I'timād Rāy and Kamāl. Meanwhile the tiger turned to the left and desperately charged Anūp Rāy. The latter struck it with his stick, but was overpowered by the sheer weight of the animal. The tiger opened its jaws, caught both of his hands, and plunged its sharp teeth through them. Anūp Rāy fell under it and his life was in danger. Within the twinkling of an eye Prince Khurram drew his sword, struck the tiger in the loins, and returned the blood-smeared blade to the scabbard. The animal writhed with pain and fell down. None but Hayāt Khān could notice the dexterity of the prince, and when he brought it to the notice of Jahāngīr, the latter highly commended his son for his modesty. It was, however, not before the tiger had wounded Anūp Rāy further in the breast and killed a torch-bearer that it was finally despatched.[40] Anūp Rāy in recognition of his bravery obtained the title of Ani-Rāy Singh Dalan. Prince Khurram on the occasion of the New Year's celebrations was promoted to the rank of 10,000 *zāt* and 5,000 *suwār*.

Khurram married to Arjumand Bānū.

Jahāngīr was ultimately successful in his love affair, and married Mihrun-Nisā' on May 25, 1611.[41] He gave her the title of Nūr Mahall, and undoubtedly she proved to be the light of the Emperor's eyes. Her inclusion in the *harim* introduced a new force into the life of the court. Slowly but steadily she spread her influence to every nook and corner. From the beginning her eye was on Prince Khurram, but, before entrusting her niece's happiness into his hands, she wanted to make him feel that his rise depended on her support. She therefore had him promoted[42] to the rank of

40 R. B., Vol. I, pp. 184—88; Iqbālnāma, pp. 47-48; Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī, ff. 96-97; Qazvīnī, ff. 46b-47b.

41 Iqbālnāma, pp. 54—57; Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī, f. 102b.

42 R. B., Vol. I, p. 217.

12,000 *zāt* and 5,000 *suwār* on March 27, 1612, and about four weeks later the nuptials of the long-engaged pair were performed.

It was a day of real felicity, to the parents both of the bride and bridegroom; and the occasion was celebrated with great pomp and splendour. No amount of expenditure was grudged to make the spectacle as brilliant and joyous as possible. Magnificent processions by day, and expensive fireworks by night heightened its charm immeasurably. The entire city of Agra was *en fete*. This gaiety, it seems, lasted for about a month, for at the end of it Jahāngīr went to the house of his son to participate in the marriage feast. The prince offered presents to his father, jewels to the *Begums*, and dresses of honour to the *amirs*.[43]

Marriage festivities.

Prince Khurram's third wife was the daughter of Shahnawāz Khān, son of the famous 'Abd-ur-Rahīm Khān Khānān, whom he married on 23rd August, 1617, when he was in the Deccan.[44] This alliance was certainly dictated by diplomatic considerations. The prince was able to foresee that his future field of activities was to be in the Deccan; and none was more familiar with that region than the unscrupulous Khān Khānān. Matrimonial relationship seemed to be the best way of securing his ungrudging help. Besides this, Shahnawāz Khān, his son, was a promising young genius, and Khurram wanted to include him in the circle of his personal adherents, whose number he was now skilfully increasing.

His other wives.

43 R. B., Vol. I, pp. 224-25; Iqbālnāma, p. 67; Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī, f. 113; Qazvīnī, 48b-49b.

44 Qazvīnī says that this connection was made to remove the mistrust of the Khān Khānān, f. 72b. Lāhaurī says that this marriage was due to certain state considerations (Vol. I, p. 390); Mu'tamid Khān says that the Khān Khānān's prestige was enhanced. (Iqbālnāma, p. 1000); By her Prince Shāhjahān had a son named Jahān Afrūz, but he died in infancy at Burhānpūr. (Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 390.)

By his first wife Prince Khurram had a daughter who was born on 12th August, 1611. She was named Parhez Bānū, and was brought up by Ruqiah Begum.[45] By his second wife he had fourteen children, of whom seven died in infancy. The seven who survived were the following :—

Children.

Jahān Ārā Begum, born at Ajmīr, on March 23, 1614.
Dārā Shikoh, born at Ajmīr on March 20, 1615.
Shāh Shujā', born at Ajmīr on June 23, 1616.
Roshan Ārā Begum, born at Burhānpūr on August 24, 1617.
Aurangzīb, born at Dauhad on October 24, 1618.
Murād Bakhsh, born at Rohtās on August 29, 1624.
Gauhar Ārā Begum, born at Burhānpūr on June 7, 1631.

The history of Jahāngīr's reign is mainly a record of the brilliant victories won by Prince Khurram. His meteoric rise into prominence thrilled and astonished his contemporaries. He started public life supported by the goodwill of his father, and the full favour of his step-mother.[46] Though young in years, he showed signs of a mature intellect. His charming manners, his stern rules of conduct, his devotion to duty, and his dashing courage, all combined to ensure for him a successful career. Contrast gave him a superiority over his brothers and rivals whose failure more than once added to his glory. He had never to wait for opportunity ; it came to him automatically. And the first trial of his merits occurred in the historic field of Mewār.

Khurram's character.

Of all the States of Rājpūtāna Mewār was the one which was able to preserve its independence the longer against the overwhelming might of the Moghul Empire. Akbar's efforts could only cripple its existence, not destroy it. One of the earliest acts of the reign of Jahāngīr, who followed in his father's footsteps, was

His Mewār campaign.

[45] R. B., Vol. I, p. 118.

[46] R. B., Vol. I, p. 256.

the appointment of Prince Parwīz against the Rānā. But the rebellion of Khusrav compelled Jahāngīr to recall his son. Later Mahābat Khān, 'Abdullah Khān Fīroz Jang, and Rājā Bāsū, were sent to Mewār, one after the other, but their efforts met with little success. After this Khān A'zam 'Azīz Kokah was placed in charge of operations in 1613, but he too, like the others, could make little headway. On his suggestion Jahāngīr personally moved to Ajmīr, and established himself there in the autumn of 1613. Early in 1614 he despatched Prince Khurram in 'happiness and triumph' to second the efforts of the Khān A'zam. A contingent of 12,000 men was placed at his command, and Fidāī Khān was appointed paymaster of this army. After arriving on the scene of action the prince found it impossible to pull together with 'Azīz Kokah. The young general was irritated at the dilatory tactics of his senior, and he soon complained against him to his father. Jahāngīr sent Ibrāhīm Husain to impress upon the mind of the Khān A'zam the need for loyalty. But he did not change his ways. Prince Khurram placed him under arrest, and informed his father of the step he had taken. Jahāngīr sent Mahābat Khān to escort the prisoner to Ajmīr.

His ambition.

This was the first indication of Prince Khurram's aggressive ambition. He was unwilling to share his glory with others, and was eager to succeed by his own resources and his own methods. He therefore threw himself headlong into the struggle, and began to strike the enemy right and left. His energy and single-mindedness won him the confidence of his followers who obeyed him implicitly. He entered the hilly regions in spite of the warning of his uncle, Rājā Sūraj Singh, carried fire and sword into the land of the Sisodias, and reduced them to the verge of starvation. The establishment of *thānas* checked their surprise attacks, continued warfare thinned their numbers, and hunger broke their courage. In the end desertions on a large scale compelled Rānā Amar Singh to open negotiations for peace with the help of his friends in the opposite camp.

After an exchange of messengers terms were quickly settled. The Rānā agreed to surrender his long-cherished independence, and to personally come and wait on Prince Khurram; but he was to be excused attendance at Court where his son Karan should represent him. Further he promised never to fortify Chitor. The treaty was ratified by Jahāngīr, who issued a *farmān* 'impressing it with the palm of his own auspicious hand.' Amar Singh came with a number of his adherents to see Prince Khurram, and after his return he was followed by his son. Karan was received graciously by Prince Khurram who gave him 'a superb dress of honour, a jewelled sword, a dagger, a horse with a gold saddle, and a special elephant.' This generous treatment of Karan by Khurram made him his life-long friend.[47]

Submission of the Rānā.

The subjugation of Mewār enhanced the glory of the Moghul Empire. No man was prouder than Jahāngīr and none happier than Prince Khurram. His reputation as a general of consummate skill and ability was established beyond doubt; and he was marked out as the rising star. On his arrival near Ajmīr all court *amīrs* were ordered to go out to meet him, and offer valuable presents. When the prince appeared before his father, the latter was overcome by his feelings of affection and joy. He embraced him, kissed his head and face, and favoured him with 'special kindness and greetings.' But more than all the esteem of his father, and the praise of the courtiers what Prince Khurram gained as a result of the campaign was the devoted friendship of a chosen body of men who stuck to him through thick and thin. These included Sundar Dās, Mullā Shukrullah, Saif Khān Bārah, Dilāwar Khān, Kishan Singh, and Mīr Hisām-ud-Dīn. The Prince now stood at the threshold of his predestined greatness.

Rising fortune of Khurram.

[47] The account of the Mewār campaign is based on Beni Prasad's History of Jahāngīr, pp. 237—48.

CHAPTER II

RISE TO PROMINENCE

AFTER having a fairly strenuous time among the inhospitable hills of Mewār, Prince Khurram now found relaxation in the delightful excursions and hunts organised by his father in the picturesque region round Ajmīr. He was rewarded for his services by an increase in his rank which was raised to 15,000 *zāt* and 8,000 *suwār*.[1] He now stood on the same level as his elder brother Parwīz, and certainly in a more advantageous position. His success gave him prominence, and the united efforts of the party recently organised by Nūr Jahān pushed him into the forefront. He was now outdistancing his contemporaries and rivals.

Increase in Khurram's rank.

On Friday the 1st of February, 1616, his solar birthday was celebrated at Ajmīr.[2] He was now twenty-four years old, yet never had he soiled his lips with wine. His father on this occasion pressed him to drink, and said "Bābā! thou hast become the father of children, and kings and kings' sons have drunk wine. Today, which is the day of thy being weighed, I will give thee wine to drink, and give thee leave to drink on feast days, at the time of the New Year, and at great festivals. But thou must observe the path of moderation for wise men do not consider it right to drink to such an extent as to destroy the understanding, and it is necessary that from drinking only profit should be derived." The prince could not but oblige his father, though on a later occasion he took a vow never to touch wine again—an oath which was taken only to be broken.

Khurram sips wine.

Though Jahāngīr was passing a merry time at Ajmīr, he

[1] R. B., Vol. I, p. 288; Qazvīnī, f. 64; Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī has 20,000 and 10,000, f. 131.

[2] R. B., Vol. I, p. 306; Qazvīnī, ff. 66-67.

was not unmindful of the political situation in the Empire. He was keenly watching the affairs in the Deccan and was disappointed at the failure of his officers there. He thought of going personally, and with this idea sent 'Abdul Karīm Ma'mūrī to Māndū to prepare a new building for his private residence, and to repair those of the old kings.[3] But for the time being he postponed his departure to await the results of the Khān Khānān's renewed activity to retrieve the lost Moghul prestige. He did succeed in achieving that object to a very large extent, but dissensions among his officers retarded his progress. Moreover, rumours of bribery against him were still coming to court and so Jahāngīr was convinced of the necessity of putting his original plan into action.[4]

Situation in the Deccan.

Accordingly the rank of Khurram was increased to 20,000 *zāt* and 10,000 *suwār* and Parwīz was removed from the Deccan on grounds of incompetency. He was transferred to Allahabad, and Prince Khurram was nominated to succeed him "as the signs of rectitude and knowledge of affairs were evident in him."[5] This was a grave injustice done by Jahāngīr to his elder son. It is true that he lacked initiative and driving force, but it was too much to fix the entire blame for the failure in the Deccan on his head. The fact is that he was never properly backed. He was never more than a nominal commander, while the real power was vested in the subordinate officers, who thought lightly of him. Jahāngīr ought in justice to have given him the same chance as he gave to his favourite son Khurram. Thus the prospects of Parwīz were sacrificed to make room for his younger brother.

Khurram appointed to the Deccan.

[3] R. B., Vol. I, p. 280.

[4] R. B., Vol. I, pp. 312-14; Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī, ff. 140-41; Iqbālnāma, pp. 85-87; Beni Prasad's 'History of Jahāngīr' p. 270. Roe, Vol. I, pp. 192-93.

[5] R. B., Vol. I; p. 329; Iqbālnāma, 90; Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī, f. 147b; Qazvīnī, f. 69.

Prince Khurram was given an opportunity tr gain an insight into the Deccan affairs, which Jahāngīr placed in his exclusive charge.[6] It was about this time that 'Abdullah Khān Fīroz Jang was accused of certain misdemeanours, and he was sent for from Gujarāt. In great perturbation of mind he started on foot for Ajmīr. After his arrival there, he secured the sympathy of Khurram, who interceded on his behalf with his father.[7] His faults were forgiven, and he was ordered to accompany his benefactor to the Deccan. He was an experienced officer, and it was really fortunate for Khurram to have secured his services on this occasion. He was going to an unfamiliar region. The officers there were unfriendly, if not hostile, to him. Will not the help of a man like 'Abdullah Khān, in those circumstances be of value?

Khurram intercedes for 'Abdullah Khān.

Before his departure the prince paraded the pick of his army before the Emperor in the Public Hall of Audience, and Jahāngīr was so satisfied that he bestowed on him the title of Shāh.[8] This was a unique honour. Never before had a prince been styled Shāh in the lifetime of a ruling monarch. It may be that a sense of vanity prompted Jahāngīr to take this step. The Persian envoy[9] was staying at his court ; perhaps he wanted to show him that he himself was greater than the Persian's master, because he could confer upon his own son the same title as was borne by the Persian King, or perhaps this step was a psychological outcome of his own conception which he entertained as a prince at Allahabad.[10] Anyhow it was a source of pride to both giver and receiver alike.

Khurram given the title of Shāh.

6 R. B., Vol. I, p. 336.

7 R. B., Vol. I, pp. 331 and 335; Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī, f. 144.

8 R. B., Vol. I, p. 338; Qazvīnī, f. 69; Iqbālnāma, p. 90; Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī, f. 148.

9 Muhammad Rizā Beg, R. B., Vol. I, p. 336.

10 Jahāngīr himself, when he was in rebellion against his father, had assumed the title of Shāh; this he explained by saying that his father

Shāh Khurram left Ajmīr on 6th October, 1616, amidst the fervent prayers of his father for success and renown.[11] Besides the valiant Fīroz Jang, a host of other officers accompanied him. Of these the most important were Rājā Sūraj Singh, Dayānat Khān; and Mu'tamid Khān was appointed the paymaster of the army.[12] On the way at Dūdpūr[13] he was met by Rānā Amar Singh who placed at his disposal a contingent of 1,500 horse under Prince Karan. By rapid marches he reached the Narbada where the Deccan officers, including the Khān Khānān, Khān Jahān, and Mahābat Khān, welcomed him. Without tarrying any longer on the border, he marched straight to Burhānpūr,[14] where he arrived on March 6, 1617.

Leaves for the Deccan.

His arrival in the Deccan brought about the desired change in the political atmosphere. The 'Ādilshāh and Malik 'Ambar found the ground slipping from beneath their feet; and they readily responded to the gesture of peace made by Prince Khurram. They forwarded presents worth one million and five hundred thousand rupees. Malik 'Ambar returned Bālāghāt and agreed to surrender Ahmadnagar and other forts.[15] Thus a peaceful victory was gained. What arms had failed to achieve so long was won within a short time by diplomacy alone; and the credit of it all went to Shāh Khurram. Mewār revealed him as a skilful general and the Deccan as a clever statesman.

Peace in the Deccan.

was Shahinshāh. So it is possible that by conferring the title of Shāh on his son he wanted to glorify himself as much as Prince Khurram.

11 R. B., Vol. I, p. 339; Qazvīnī, f. 69; Iqbālnāma, p. 70; Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī, f. 147 b.

12 Iqbālnāma, p. 91.

13 Qazvīnī, f. 69b; Iqbālnāma, p. 93; Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī, f. 148b; R. B., Vol. I, p. 344.

14 Qazvīnī, f. 70; R. B., Vol. I, p. 368; Iqbālnāma p. 69; Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī, f. 149.

15 R. B., Vol. I, p. 380; Iqbālnāma, p. 100; Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī, f. 150; Qazvīnī, f. 71.

After making arrangements for the proper administration of the newly recovered territories by placing them in charge of the Khān Khānān and Shahnawāz Khān,[16] he left for the North to meet his father.

At Māndū Jahāngīr was waiting with impatient anxiety to hear the results of his son's activities. Sayyid 'Abdullah Bārah brought the news of the arrangements, and drums were beaten to celebrate the success.[17] This was followed by a letter from the Prince announcing the arrival of Afzal Khān and Rāy Rayān with the ambassadors of the 'Ādilshāh, who brought jewels, elephants and horses, 'offerings such as had never come in any reign or time.' The Prince himself arrived on October 12, 1617. He was received in the Hall of Audience, and after he had performed the due rites of salutation and kissing the ground, Jahāngīr called him to the *jharoka* and with 'exceeding kindness and uncontrolled delight rose from his seat and held him in the embrace of affection.' He was given a seat near the throne, and received the unprecedented rank of 30,000 *zāt* and 20,000 *suwār* together with the title of Shāhjahān. Gifts were showered on him by his father in profusion, and a magnificent feast was organised by Nūr Jahān in honour of the occasion.[18]

Jahāngīr pleased.

New title conferred on Shāh Khurram.

After the Prince came the turn of other officers, who had accompanied him from the Deccan, to lay their offerings before the Emperor. First came Khān Jahān Lodhī with 1,000 *Muhrs* and 1,000 rupees as *nazr* and a casket filled with jewels as *peshkash* (present). He was followed by Mahābat Khān, Rājā Bhāo Singh, Dārāb Khān son of the Khān Khānān, Sardār Khān, brother of 'Abdullah Khān, Dayānat Khān, Shahbāz Khān, Mu'tamid Khān Bakhshī, and Ūdā Rām Deccanī. Their presents were accepted and their services were commended.

16 R. B., Vol. I, p. 393; Iqbālnāma, p. 102; Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī, f. 154; Qazvīnī, f. 72 b.

17 R. B., Vol. I, p. 380.

18 R. B., Vol. I, pp. 393-97.

It was about a month and a half before Shāhjahān could display to his father the rich harvest of jewels and other valuables which he had gathered for him in the Deccan. On Thursday the 20th November, 1617, these were arranged in the Hall of Audience before the *jharoka* together with the horses and elephants in gold and silver trappings. To please his son, Jahāngīr came down to look through them in detail. There were costly pearls, glittering diamonds, fine rubies, and emeralds of beautiful colour and delicacy. But what attracted most the fancy of the Emperor were five elephants of mountainous size and good proportions. Altogether these offerings came to 2,260,000 rupees ; and out of these, presents worth 200,000 rupees were given by the Prince to his step-mother Nūr Jahān.[19]

Shāhjahān's presents to his father.

So the Deccan problem was solved for the time being. A desire for elephant-hunting led Jahāngīr to make a tour of Gujarāt. He despatched to Agra Maryam-uz-Zamānī and other Begums and the people of the *harim*, and also the baggage and extra establishment, and himself proceeded towards Ahmadābād. Nūr Jahān and Shāhjahān accompanied him. The journey was a leisurely affair. On the way Dhār and Cambay were visited, and the Emperor ultimately reached his destination[20] on January 5, 1618.

Tour in Gujarāt.

In recognition of his success in the Deccan the province of Gujarāt was assigned to Shāhjahān.[21] On one side of its peninsular portion lies an island called Cutch. This was ruled by a chief called Bhārah ; and another descendant of the same branch known as the Jām, held the northern coast line of Kāthiāwār. Both of these had temporarily submitted to the Moghuls in the reign

Success to Jām.

19 Ibid., pp. 399-401.

20 Beni Prasad, 'History of Jahāngīr,' pp. 289-300.

21 R. B., Vol. I, p. 424. At another place Jahāngīr remarks that the province of Gujarāt was assigned to Shāhjahān in recognition of his success against the Rānā. R. B., Vol. II, p. 261. Qazvīnī, f. 75 b.

of Akbar, but later recovered their independence. Shāhjahān now deputed Rājā Vikramājīt to subdue them. The Jām was first to yield. He waited on Jahāngīr in March 1618, and was, four months later, followed by his brother chief.[22]

The sojourn in Gujarāt did not please Jahāngīr, and he was soon disgusted with the suffocating heat and dust of the country.

Shāhjahān's illness.

Both he and Prince Shāhjahān fell ill of fever in May 1618, and the latter became so weak that for ten days he could not come to pay his respects to his father.[23] It was impossible to leave the place before the end of the rainy season, after which Jahāngīr started for Agra on the 2nd September, 1618. Passing through Mālwa he arrived near the capital about the beginning of January 1619. The city being still affected with plague, Jahāngīr decided to stay in Fathpūr which he entered on the 7th January. On the same day the twenty-eighth solar birth-day of Shāhjahān was celebrated. Nine days later Jahāngīr took him round the palace and explained to him in detail about the buildings erected by Akbar.

On Friday the 8th April, when the court was staying at Nūr Manzil, the death took place of the mother of Shāhjahān.

Death of Shāhjahān's mother.

Next day Jahāngīr went to his house to condole with him, and took him to his palace.[24] The day following, the Emperor made a State entry into the capital, where he remained for the next six months. In October he left for Kashmir. As usual the journey was slow and easy. On the way hunting excursions were organised, and entertainments took place. At Pālam Prince Shāhjahān shot two antelopes with his gun. Thus by leisurely marches Srīnagar was reached on March 20, 1620. Jahāngīr thoroughly enjoyed his visit to the 'paradise of India,' but was occasionally disturbed by alarming news

22 Qazvīnī, f. 77; Iqbālnāma, p. 110; R. B., Vol. I, p. 443.

23 R. B., Vol. II, p. 14; Iqbālnāma, p. 115.

24 R. B., Vol. II, p. 84.

from the Deccan, which ultimately compelled him to leave Kashmir in the ensuing October.

Meanwhile one piece of news gave him real satisfaction. Ever since 1615 operations, with occasional interruptions, had been going on against the famous fort of Kangḍa.[25] Some cause or other foiled the attempts of the Imperialist's to reduce it, till in August 1618 Shāhjahān took upon himself the responsibility of carrying the campaign to the end. He sent Rājā Vikramājīt to reduce the fort. The latter first isolated it, and then pressed the siege vigorously, and compelled the garrison to surrender.

Success at Kangḍa.

But in another part of the Empire conditions were going from bad to worse. The much-vaunted success of Shāhjahān in the Deccan was a hollow truce. The terms which he had obtained from the Nizāmshāh and the 'Ādilshāh had no whit of stability in them. They were meant to be broken as soon as the real opportunity came. And this was the time for it. The Emperor was far off in Kashmir. His valiant son was with him. A large number of leading officers and commanders were busy at Kangda, and there was little chance of help reaching the Commander-in-Chief of the Moghul forces in the Deccan. Hence Malik 'Ambar started his activities to recover his lost possessions and the prestige of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar.

The Deccan again.

He was able to secure the assistance of the other two powers against the common foe. The Qutbshāh offered money, and the 'Ādilshāh lent the services of his men. Malik 'Ambar with an army of 50,000 opened the campaign against the Moghuls. His recently organised light Marāthā cavalry harassed the enemy with their guerilla tactics. They cut off their means of communication, stopped their supply of provisions, and drove them out of Bālāghāt. The Imperialists retreated to Mahkar and for three months resisted the advance of the enemy.

[25] R. B., Vol. II, pp. 183—86; The account in the '*Shash Fath*' and all other works is substantially the same as given by Jahāngīr

but the growing scarcity of food compelled them to fall back further. This encouraged the Deccanīs, and they pursued the Moghuls to Bālāpūr, which they sacked thoroughly. The Imperialists now retreated to Burhānpūr, and both Bālāghāt and Pāyīnghāt passed into the hands of Malik 'Ambar. The only places which still held out were Burhānpūr, and Ahmadnagar; but these were also closely invested by the Deccanīs.

At Burhānpūr the Khān Khānān was in a miserable plight, and he sent appeal after appeal to the court for help. In his last despatch he wrote that it was impossible to hold out any longer. He compared his position to that of 'Āzīz Kokah in Gujarāt in the reign of Akbar, and pathetically called upon Jahāngīr to save him as his father had saved his foster-brother, otherwise after sacrificing his men he would perform *jouhar*.[26] When the report was placed before Jahāngīr his heart was moved. He had a great regard for the *atālīq* who had been so tenderly brought up by his father. So far the Kangḍa affair had prevented him from sending any effective help to the Deccan. It was now over and the officers were free to go there.

But who was to lead the campaign? Naturally the only man whom Jahāngīr could choose was Shāhjahān. He was able, he was diligent, and he possessed the necessary experience; and when the Emperor showed him the despatches of the Khān Khānān, he readily agreed to undertake the task. But on this occasion he did not find his position so secure at court. He noticed a vein of jealousy in Nūr Jahān, and some ficklemindedness in his father. The party which had so long supported him showed signs of disruption, though apparently he was as much honoured and respected by them as before. The renewed mild treatment of Khusrav, the rumours of his alliance with Nūr Jahān, together with the failing health of his father, made Shāhjahān cautious, so he asked

Shāhjahān sent, for the second time.

[26] Qazvīnī, f. 88; R. B., Vol. II, pp. 155-56, and pp. 189-90.

Jahāngīr to hand over Khusrav to him.[27] His request was granted.

To Shāhjahān's mind, the campaign was of unprecedented importance and difficulty. Add to this his extreme fondness for display. Something extraordinary was to be done to signalise the seriousness of the situation and to captivate popular imagination. He always held Bābur and Tīmūr before him as his ideal and he followed the example of his great ancestor by taking a vow never to touch wine again His entire stock of wine was ordered to be thrown into the Chambal, and the precious cups of gold and silver were broken and distributed among the poor and needy.[28]

Renounces drinking.

At Ujjain Shāhjahān received a report from Md. Taqī, the commander of Māndū, that about 8,000 Deccanīs led by Mansūr had crossed the Narbada and plundered the outlying districts, and were advancing towards the fort, which was not in a state of defence. Shāhjahān despatched Abul Hasan and Bairam Beg to the relief of Md. Taqī. The latter, hearing that reinforcements were on the way, came out of the fort, fell upon the enemy and put them to flight. After the arrival of the auxiliary forces Md. Taqī commenced the offensive against the Deccanīs and pursued them for four *karohs*. The Imperialists then retreated and encamped at Akbarpūr.[29]

Arrives at Ujjain.

At Māndū Shāhjahān received a despatch from the Khān Khānān counselling him to stay where he was, since he himself was couped in Burhānpūr ; he was unable to mobilise his men, and the enemy numbered 60,000. But Shāhjahān did not agree to the proposal. His secret of success lay in celerity and dash,

27 Qazvīnī (f. 89) makes some significant remarks. Iqbālnāma, p. 176 Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī, f. 173.

28 Qazvīnī, ff. 90-91.

29 Iqbālnāma, pp. 181-82.

and against this he made no account of superior numbers. Fortunately just at this moment 'Abdullah K ān Fīroz Jang arrived with his contingent of 2,000 men from Kālpī. Shāhjahān had now 18,000 men, all told. He left Māndū on March 25, 1621, and proceeded in battle array towards Burhānpūr. 'Abdullah Khān commanded the advance-guard, Rājā Vikramājīt the right, Abul Hasan the left, and the centre was under the personal command of the Prince. Thus in a compact body, and with closed ranks the Narbada was crossed without any mishap. When Shāhjahān arrived near Burhānpūr, the Khān Khānān came out alone to meet him, leaving others to guard the fort, lest the enemy finding it denuded of men, should make an attempt to capture it.[30]

Enters Burhānpūr.

The Prince entered Burhānpūr on April 4, 1621, but the Deccanīs took no notice of him, and held on to their position round the city. Here in the council meeting the Khān Khānān once more advocated dilatory methods. He proposed that for the time being the enemy should be driven across the river, and further operations for the recovery of Bālāghāt should be postponed till the end of the rainy season. The suggestion was seconded and supported by Abul Hasan, 'Abdullah Khān and Dārāb Khān. But the Prince rejected it, and set about making arrangements to deal a quick and effective blow at the Deccan *entente*.[31]

Campaign in the Deccan.

The problem before him was how to increase the number of his men. To solve it, he ordered his *bakhshīs* to summon those *jāgīrdārs* whose lands had been seized by the enemy. They were plentifully supplied with money and were asked to furnish their quotas as soon as possible. In this way about 30,000 men were collected within a very short time. This army was divided into

30 Qazvīnī, f. 92.

31 Ibid., f. 93.

five regiments, two of which consisted of the Prince's own men, and were respectively commanded by Rājā Bhīm and Rājā Vikramājīt. Of the other three, one was led by Dārāb Khān, one by 'Abdullah Khān, and the third by Abul Hasan. Dārāb Khān was the formal Commander-in-Chief, but the real authority was placed in the hands of Rājā Vikramājīt. The generals were to hold consultations in the camp of Dārāb Khān.[32]

In face of the guerilla tactics of the enemy it was necessary to be as alert as possible. Accordingly Shāhjahān ordered that every regiment should be divided into four squadrons each of which was to guard the advance and the rear by turns. While the Moghuls were moving slowly towards the river, the Deccanīs led by Yāqūt Khān attacked the rear, which was defended by Abul Hasan. After a short but contested struggle they were put to flight. Across the river at Malkāpūr the Imperialists were again attacked by the Deccanīs who were repulsed.

Thus harassed front and rear, right and left, the Imperialists entered Bālāghāt with great difficulty. They crossed it after occasional skirmishes with the Deccanīs, and reached Khirkī, where in a spirit of vandalism they destroyed all the buildings erected during the last fifteen years. On May 5, 1621, they left for Daulatābād with the object of coercing Malik 'Ambar to submission. But the way thither was full of obstructions. The Deccanīs led surprise attacks from all sides, taught the Moghuls a bitter lesson, and showed how impossible was the task they had set before themselves. The attempt on Daulatābād was given up.

The Imperialists now planned to march to the relief of Ahmadnagar, which was closely invested by the Deccanīs, who had reduced it to narrow straits. But the enemy barred their path, and repeatedly attacked them. Once Rājā Vikramājīt tried to draw them into the open field, but as on previous

[32] Qazvīnī, ff. 93-94.

occasions they fought and after a while scampered away. The Imperialists now found themselves in a difficult situation. They had pushed too far into the enemy's country, and their retreat was cut off. The rainy season had almost set in, and the heat was intense.

With his eye fixed on details, Shāhjahān had sent another army under Md. Taqī to recover Berar and Khāndesh, while the enemy was busy in Bālāghāt. Md. Taqī quickly dislodged the Deccanīs, and occupied both the provinces. Meanwhile the enemy again appeared in Bālāghāt. So Shāhjahān directed Md. Taqī to enter Bālāghāt, occupy strategic points, and restore the line of communication with the main army. To counteract this move Malik 'Ambar detailed Ātish Khān with 8,000 men. Upon this Shāhjahān ordered Rājā Bhīm to go to the help of Md. Taqī. The two occupied Bāsim and drove away the enemy. But the pressure on Ahmadnagar could not be relieved and the Prince thought of sending an army to Nāsik and Sangamnīr to effect this. The plan, in itself, was not easy to be put into action. But Malik 'Ambar was unnerved, and opened negotiations for peace.

Submission of 'Ambar.

His representatives saw Rājā Vikramājīt at Patan, where he was staying with the main army. Malik 'Ambar offered to surrender the territories, once held by the Moghuls in the Deccan, and to secure an indemnity from the other two powers. But the Rājā declined to give any hearing to these proposals till Malik 'Ambar withdrew his men from Ahmadnagar, and let the convoy of provisions, which was sent to the garrison, pass unmolested.

Peace in the Deccan.

Being satisfied of the sincerity of Malik 'Ambar's professions, Rājā Vikramājīt discussed further the terms of the treaty which was concluded. Thus once more by a combination of force and tact Shāhjahān patched up a peace in the Deccan. But the success was as unstable as ever, and the Deccan proved a cancer to the Moghul Empire. It ate through its vitality. But to Shāhjahān

it brought glory twice. It added to his fortunes and established his reputation. As usual, he reported the victory to his father in a pompous form. He compared his achievement to that of Akbar in Gujarāt and tried to convince Jahāngīr that his work was even superior. It is amusing to read the puerile arguments advanced by him in support of his claims ; nevertheless he was at the zenith of his power.[33]

[33] The account of the Deccan affairs is based on Qazvīnī who is more detailed than any of his predecessors. Mu'tamid Khān is extremely disappointing; he devotes more attention to court affairs than to those of which he was an eye-witness. (See Qazvīnī, ff. 92-102.)

CHAPTER III

ECLIPSE AND RISE

SHĀHJAHĀN was now thirty years old. Ever since his infancy he had been fed upon ambitious ideas. Akbar used to remark that of all his grandchildren only Khurram took after him.[1] Jahāngīr doted on him and would do anything to please him.[2] He was only sixteen when the *jāgīr* of Hisār Fīroza, the appanage of heir-apparent, was assigned to him. This was the turning point in his career. After this every plan which he formed and every campaign which he led was attended with phenomenal success. This quick and easy rise to prominence made him slightly haughty[3] and obstinate ; but it detracted little from his influence. On the other hand, these very traits in his character were considered by his followers as in keeping with his dignity. He held the highest rank in the state, the richest *jāgīrs* in the Empire ; and he commanded the flower of the Moghul army. His eye was on the throne.

Shāhjahān's status.

A few years before, there was nothing between him and the object of his ambition ; but within a short time the atmosphere changed, and dark clouds hung over his prospects. The very forces which had helped him so long, now turned against him ; and his active ally became his inveterate foe. He was

His ambitions blighted.

1 Qazvīnī, f. 35 b.

2 R. B., Vol. I, p. 436.

3 Roe, Vol. I, p. 191 ; Methwold describes Prince Khurram thus : proud enough of himself without the flattery of his followers, ambitious, and in his rise hath his will for his law, and like a Mohammedan pursues wealth.' The English Factories in India (1622-23), p. 46. For Kerridge's estimate of Shāhjahān, see the English Factories in India (1624-29) pp. 205-207.

well able to perceive it and took steps to prevent, at least to modify the threatened misfortune. But when he awoke to the gravity of the situation it was too late. He fought hard against the circumstances and the struggle which ensued was grim and horrible. His rebellion was a clash of two powerful ambitions each trying to subdue the other.

Ominous signs.

After his second victory in the Deccan Shāhjahān noticed some unfavourable signs. He was already suspicious of Nūr Jahān; but now he found that even his father was not so warm towards him as before. When Afzal Khān reported the news of his success to Jahāngīr, he received it somewhat coldly. In his diary he notices the event with satisfaction but without any outburst of admiration.[4] He lavished no fresh honours on the victor; he ordered no drums to be beaten and he celebrated the occasion with no state banquet. All this seemed ominous; and made Shāhjahān think of his rivals. And who were they?

Shahriyār.

Shahriyār was now coming into prominence. He had been promoted to the rank of 8,000 *zāt* and 4,000 *suwār*, and had been married to the daughter of the Empress.[5] But so far there was no indication that Jahāngīr ever thought of nominating him as his successor. On the contrary when Shujā' fell ill, he felt a grave concern for him and took a vow not to shoot with a gun, and offered prayers for his recovery.[6] Again, when Shāhjahān requested a supply of horses, he ordered that one thousand should immediately be sent from the royal stud.[7] But it was not only the intentions of the Emperor which were to be counted. There was his domineering queen. Both her father and her mother were dead; and Jahāngīr had assigned to her the entire establishment of I'timād-ud-Dowlah, and had ordered

[4] R. B., Vol. II, p. 206.

[5] R. B., Vol. II, pp. 187 and 199.

[6] R. B., Vol. II, p. 203.

[7] R. B., Vol. II, p. 209.

that her drums and orchestra should play after those of the King.[8] She was trying to win over other nobles to her side, and on the occasion of the lunar weighing of her husband she presented dresses of honour to forty-four of them.[9]

Parwīz.

The second rival was Parwīz who, of late, had been receiving greater consideration at the hands of his father. Within a few months two messengers were sent to him in quick succession. First, I'timād-ud-Dowlah went to him with a special dress of honour[10]; and he was followed, shortly after, by Rājā Sārang Dev[11] with another dress, a jewelled belt containing a sapphire and several rubies, and an order for his transfer to Bihār, a richer and more extensive province than his original charge, Allahābād. Parwīz in his turn tried to reciprocate these renewed demonstrations of love and affection. He hastened to Agra when he heard of his father's illness, and nothing would prevent him from making three turns round the sick man's bed.[12]

Khusrav.

The third rival was Khusrav who 'was destined for a stormy career and a bloody grave.' He was now a prisoner in the charge of Shāhjahān, and to remove him from his way the latter had him murdered in cold blood. Elphinstone and Beveridge doubt his complicity[13]; but the historian of Jahāngīr's reign has adduced overwhelming evidence to prove his guilt.[14] Though adequate in volume, it is indirect in nature, since it mainly consists of the assertions of foreign travellers. But a contemporary source has very unfortunately been lost sight of. Md. Sālih Kambū

8 R. B., Vol. II, p. 228.

9 R. B., Vol. II, p. 221.

10 R. B., Vol. II, p. 194.

11 R. B., Vol. II, p. 200.

12 R. B., Vol. II, p. 215.

13 J. R. A. S. (1907), p. 599; Elphinstone, 'History of India,' Vol. II, p 368.

14 Beni Prasad, 'History of Jahāngīr,' pp. 336-40 and notes.

wrote in the lifetime of Shāhjahān ; and he is not sparing in praise for the Emperor. In these circumstances his testimony is extremely trustworthy, and his description of the incident deserves a detailed quotation.

Evidence of his murder.

" It is entirely lawful for the great sovereigns to rid this mortal world of the existence of their brothers and other relations, whose very annihilation is conducive to common good. And as the leaders spiritual and temporal justify the total eradication of the rival claimants to the fortunate throne (therefore) on grounds of expediency and common weal, and upon the suggestion of such wise counsellors Sultān Khusrav, whom the Emperor Jahāngīr had, in an hour of drunkenness, handed over to the Shāh Buland Iqbāl (Shāhjahān) was translated, on Monday the 22nd February, 1621, from the ditch of prison to the plains of non-existence. To avoid suspicion the dead body of the late prince was taken with due honour and respect round through the city of Burhānpūr. The notables and officers accompanied the hearse chanting prayers, and muttering incantations. He was buried in 'Ālamganj on the night of Wednesday.'[15]

Hardly any comment is needed to explain the above description. The facts are self-evident. They provide the motive, and at the same time offer a justification for the act. They are recorded by one who was in close touch with the court, and had access to state records, and above all, who was in no mood to accuse Shāhjahān of such a diabolical crime without cogent proofs. It is strange that the report that Khusrav had died of colic pain did not arouse any suspicion in the mind of Jahāngīr ; and he records the event in his diary silently and without emotion.[16]

15 Sālih, Vol. I, p. 137 and pp. 163-65.

16 R. B., Vol. II, p. 228; For contemporary evidence of Shāhjahān's complicity in Khusrav's murder see English Factories in India, 1622-23, particularly Bangham's letters from Burhānpūr to Sūrat, p. 59 and p. 94; and Methwold's letter from . Masulīpatam to Sūrat, p. 59 and p. 98. Methwold's remarks are interesting: " The yet deferred vengeance for

Contemporary historians do not record the effect produced in court circles by the report of the ghastly murder in the Deccan; but certainly there must have occurred some hardening of feeling against the perpetrator of the foul deed. Shāhjahān must have lost the sympathy of some of those nobles who, though not partisans of Khusrav, were shocked at the treatment meted out to him. But the latter never cared for such sentimentalism, and complacently watched the situation. Events were now moving swiftly and he felt it necessary to come to a quick decision. Still it is wrong to assert that he was precipitated into rebellion by the action of his enemies. On the other hand, Jahāngīr as yet did not suspect him: and Nūr Jahān apparently did nothing to give him a cause of complaint. It was Shāhjahān who began the struggle.

Shāhjahān in the wrong.

For some time past, reports about the preparations of Shāh 'Abbās to recover Qandahār had been pouring in at the Moghul Court; but Jahāngīr was reluctant to give credence to them. He trusted to the outward show of amity and goodwill by the Persian monarch. There was a regular exchange of ambassadors; and even at the moment Zambal Beg was staying at the court. If the Shāh really wished to embitter such relations, where was the sense in letting his representative remain in India? So did the unsuspecting Moghul Emperor argue to himself; and without the least feeling of alarm, started on a trip to Kashmir. At Rawalpindi, it seems, better counsels prevailed on him, and he despatched Zain-al-'ābidīn, *Bakhshī*

Shāh 'Abbās and Qandahār.

Sultān Khusrav's unnatural fratricide shall undoubtedly fall heavy upon the bloody abetters, who may conceal it from that vice King Moghul, per distance of place and connivancy of friends; but there is an omniscient power, the King of Kings, that never leaves unpunished the unnatural and treacherous effusion of innocent blood." Peter Mundy, p. 244: Pietro Della Valle, Vol. I. p. 58: Futūhāt 'Ādilshāhī gives a confused account of Shāhjahān's rebellion, but graphically describes how Jahāngīr reluctantly surrendered Khusrav to Shāhjahān; it says that 'sometimes after this it was heard that Khusrav has been murdered' (ff. 281-85.)

of *ahadīs*, to summon Shāhjahān who was directed to come 'with all possible speed, with a victorious host. and elephants of mountain hugeness, and the numerous artillery that were assigned for his support in that Sūba (Deccan).'[17]

Before the royal messenger could reach him, Shāhjahān had obtained the news of the siege of Qandahār by the Persian monarch. After the arrival of Zain-al-'ābidīn when he found that his services were in demand, he considered it a fit opportunity to strike a bargain which should make his position strong enough to defy his opponents. But to cover his contemplated disobedience he moved from Burhānpūr to show to his father that he was not neglectful of his orders. On the way he was joined by Afzal Khān, Rājā Vikramājīt and Rājā Bhīm, with a plentiful supply of money which they had brought from the rulers of the Deccan, and the *Zamīndārs* of Gondwāna. This accession to his resources was very welcome because of the doubtful future that lay before him.

Shāhjahān's opportunity.

Somewhere between Burhānpūr and Māndū, Shāhjahān gave leave to Zain-al-'ābidīn to return to court. In the letter which he gave to the messenger the Prince boldly enunciated the conditions, the fulfilment of which was to precede his undertaking to lead the proposed campaign. He requested that he should be permitted to pass the rains in Māndū ; that he should be invested with the power of promoting and degrading his officers ; he should be assigned the *sūba* of the Panjāb ; he should be provided with sufficient money ; and finally he should be given the fort of Ranthambhor for the residence and protection of his family. To mitigate the offensive nature of these demands, Shāhjahān attempted to furnish a plausible explanation for every one of them. The exhaustion of his army during the recent Deccan campaign justified the first ; the need of absolute control of his men

His terms.

17 R. B., Vol. II, p. 231; Iqbālnāma, p. 192; Qazvīnī, f. 102 b; Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī, f. 105.

justified the second ; the necessity of a free and copious supply of provisions required during the expected pr..onged warfare with a monarch of Shāh 'Abbās's calibre, justified the third and the fourth ; and provision for a sense of security during his absence in such a distant country justified the last. But the covering was too thin to hide the stern reality. The Prince had thrown off the mask.[18]

When Zain-al-'ābidīn presented this presumptuous and challenging letter to Jahāngīr, his feelings were rudely shocked.

Jahāngīr shocked.

The report that Qandahār was being besieged was enough to worry him, but the undutiful behaviour of his once devoted son proved positively galling. However, he restrained himself and only ordered that *sazāwals* should be despatched to the Deccan to hasten the march of the 'Sayyids of Bārah and Bokhāra, the Shaikhzādas, the Afghāns, and the Rājpūts.' His original plan was to send both Parwīz and Shāhjahān to the north-western frontier, and so he had sent messengers to the former. But now when the latter showed the mailed fist the urgency of a summons to Parwīz was doubled. Jahāngīr ordered Mirzā Rustam and I'tiqād Khān to go to Lahore to make the preliminary arrangements for the campaign.[19]

Meanwhile Shāhjahān struck the first blow. The *jāgīr* of Dholpūr had at the request of Nūr Jahān been assigned to

Shāhjahān strikes the first blow.

Shahriyār. But Shāhjahān had also sent in a request for it to court ; and being confident that it would be granted, he sent his men to

18 Qazvīnī, f. 103 b; Sālih, Vol. I, pp. 167-68. Jahāngir was keen to send Shāhjahān to Qandahār for three reasons: (1) because he was an able general and a tried statesman; (2) because Imām Qulī Khān had mentioned particularly Shāhjahān's name in his letter to Jahāngīr (Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 232-33); and (3) because Jahāngīr thought that Shāhjahān who was in correspondence with Shāh 'Abbās, would be able to influence the latter. It is evident that Jahāngīr contemplated nothing against Shāhjahān, and that so far he was little influenced by Nūr Jahān.

19 R. B., Vol. II, pp. 234-35. Mu'tamid Khān now returned from the Deccan. See Iqbālnāma, p. 193.

occupy it. The latter on reaching there found it in the hands of Shahriyār's officers. Proud and haughty like their master they soon came to blows with Shahriyār's men, and ejected them forcibly from their possession. When this was reported to Jahāngīr he became very angry, and thought Shāhjahān 'unworthy of all favours and cherishings.' As yet he would not raise a finger against the disaffected Prince, and simply ordered him 'not to place his foot beyond the path of reasonableness and the high road of courtesy.' He was asked to stay where he was, and to send the officers requisitioned for service against Qandahār. Of course, the threat of punishment in case of disobedience was held out to him.[20]

It is highly probable that Shāhjahān delayed to send a satisfactory explanation of his conduct. But by doing so he played into the hands of his rivals. Nūr Jahān who had been trying to push forward the fortunes of her son-in-law Shahriyār, found a suitable opportunity for axe-grinding. She had already a great influence over her husband which she now exerted to the detriment of her rival Shāhjahān. She thoroughly misrepresented his attitude to Jahāngīr who gave a willing ear to all sorts of truths and half-truths.[21] In this way she succeeded in securing for Shahriyār the command of the Qandahār campaign with an increased rank of 12,000 *zāt* and 8,000 *suwār*. On the very day of her son-in-law's appointment, to humour her husband, she presented to him two Turkish pearls worth sixty thousand rupees. Her dominance was now unquestionable, and at her instance Jahāngīr forbade audience to Mīr 'Abd-us-Salām, Shāhjahān's representative at court. Thus Nūr Jahān's triumph was complete.[22]

Superseded by Shahriyār.

[20] R. B., Vol. II, p. 236. Jahāngīr became so uncharitable towards his son that he broke his vow of shooting with gun, a vow which he had taken in consideration of the great regard and affection for the sons of Shāhjahān. The Dholpūr affair is mentioned in a letter to Sūrat (The English Factories in India, pp. 90 and 94).

[21] Iqbālnāma, p. 194; Qazvīnī, f. 104; Sālih, Vol. I, pp. 168-69.

[22] R. B., Vol. II, p. 237; Qazvīnī, f. 104 b.

On the other hand, Shāhjahān found the cards slipping from his hands. Even his *jāgīrs* in the Doāb and in the *Sarkār* of Hisār Fīroza were confiscated. Decidedly he had overshot the mark. As a last resort, he despatched his *dīvān*, Afzal Khān to court to convince his father of his pacific intentions, and to persuade him not to act upon the counsel of women. The messenger was received by Jahāngīr, but his arguments made little impression on his mind. He could see that Shāhjahān was trying to 'clothe his immodest acts in the garment of apology. So the mission of Afzal Khān failed, and he was dismissed with a robe of honour. Shortly after, orders were issued assigning the *sūbas* of Gujarāt, Mālwa, the Deccan, and Khāndesh to Shāhjahān, and he was asked to fix his permanent residence at any place he chose.[23]

Afzal Khān's mission.

The return of Afzal Khān and the activities of his rivals at court convinced Shāhjahān that things had gone too far and that there was no time to retreat. Thus more by his own wrong line of action, than by anything else, he was driven to a course of action which proved disastrous as much to the Empire as to himself. On the one hand stood the loss of honour, of prestige, of the ambitions which he had so long cherished, and on the other open rebellion. He chose the latter, and boldly attempted thereby to retrieve the former. He planned to overwhelm the enemy by bringing about simultaneous risings in the most important parts of the Empire. Accordingly he despatched Jagat Singh, son of Rājā Bāsū, to his own country to create trouble in the hills of the Panjāb,[24] and himself marched towards Agra.[25]

Shāhjahān rebels.

23 R. B., Vol. II, pp. 238-39; Iqbālnāma, p. 196.

24 R. B., Vol. II, p. 287.

25 Both Qazvīnī and Mu'tamid Khān attribute pacific intentions to Shāhjahān, and say that Shāhjahān's march to the North was motivated by a desire to see the Emperor and to come to an understanding with him. But the very fact that he was accompanied by a large army militates against the suggestion. Iqbālnāma, p. 200; Qazvīnī, 105b.

A strange coincidence.

It seems a strange coincidence that, when Salīm rebelled against his father, his first attempt was to seize Agra, and that now when Prince Shāhjahān rebelled he likewise should make the same attempt. The reason is not far to seek. Agra was the seat of the Imperial Government, and the storehouse of the Moghul treasures. Thus the man who could secure its possession would certainly be in an advantageous position. But the attempt in both cases failed. On the former occasion, Qulij Khān, the governor, proved adamant against the rebel prince ; and in the present case the eunuch I'tibār Khān proved equal to the occasion and saved the capital from the hands of the insurgents.[26] When Shāhjahān with his army arrived before Fathpūr Sīkrī and advanced towards Agra, he found the gates closed against him. Thereupon he sent Vikramājīt to plunder the town, which he did very successfully, robbing a large number of nobles of their wealth.[27]

Jahāngīr's affliction.

Shāhjahān's march towards the North sorely afflicted the heart of Jahāngīr. The memory of the favours and kindnesses, the titles and standards, which he had bestowed upon Shāhjahān, passed before his eyes, and the shock of disappointment seemed to him too terrible to bear. With great pathos he describes the condition of his troubled mind : 'In pain and weakness, in a warm atmosphere that is extremely unsuitable to my health, I must ride and be active, and in this state must proceed against such an undutiful son. Many servants cherished by me for long years and raised to the dignity of nobility, whom I ought to employ today in war against the Uzbeg and the Persian, I must punish for their vileness, and destroy with my own hand.'[28]

[26] R. B., Vol. II, p. 247; Iqbālnāma, p. 200.

[27] R. B., Vol. II, pp. 249-50; Della Valle, p. 121.

[28] R. B., Vol. II, p. 248.

But no account was to be made of this pain and worry on this important occasion. Shāhjahān had challenged the authority of the Crown, and he must be punished. When the news of his progress towards Agra was reported to Jahāngīr, he sent Mūsavī Khān to dissuade Shāhjahān from such an act of folly.[29] The messenger saw the Prince at Fathpūr, and the latter decided to send 'Abdul 'Azīz with him with his own proposals. But Jahāngīr was in no mood to listen to 'Abdul 'Azīz and ordered him to be imprisoned.[30] In fact, the mission of Mūsavī Khān was meant to gain time. The Emperor was waiting for the arrival of Prince Parwīz to whom express messengers had been sent to summon him with all speed.

Mūsavī Khān's mission.

Meanwhile Mahābat Khān who had been sent on urgent summons, arrived at court, and naturally the supervision of the Imperial affairs passed into his hands.[31] He immediately brought to the notice of the Emperor the existence of a party who were in treacherous correspondence with the rebel Prince, its ringleaders being Muhtarim Khān, Khalīl Beg Zūlqadr, and Fidāī Khān. All these were ordered to be imprisoned, and their cases were investigated. Mīrzā Rustam swore to the infidelity of Khalīl Beg and his evidence was corroborated by Nūruddīn Qulī. Similarly, Abu Sa'īd swore to the treachery of Muhtarim Khān. Jahāngīr ordered Mahābat Khān to put both of them to death. But the charges against Fidāī Khān could not be substantiated, and so he was released and reinstated.[32]

Mahābat Khān's arrival.

29 R. B., Vol. II, p. 249.

30 R. B., Vol. II, p. 250; Iqbālnāma, p. 200.

31 R. B., Vol. II, p. 251; Iqbālnāma, p. 201.

32 R. B., Vol. II, p. 249; Iqbālnāma, p. 199; Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī also includes the name of Mu'tamid Khān (f. 190).

That there was a body of men at court who were in secret sympathy with Shāhjahān is beyond doubt. Of these Āsaf Khān, the father-in-law of the Prince, was the most important.[33] By his skill and adroitness he managed to conceal his own designs and never let Jahāngīr suspect his loyalty up to the last moment. Though silent and apparently unconcerned,[34] he was a source of great strength to Shāhjahān. His real part in the rebellion has not been recorded by court chroniclers, but it must have been very active. Indeed it would not be too much to presume that when he was sent to bring the treasure from Agra,[35] he gave an inkling of his movements to his son-in-law and encouraged him to fall upon the convoy. Hence Shāhjahān's march to the north. But the commander I'tibār Khān was shrewd enough to penetrate through these designs and did not allow Āsaf Khān to take the treasure, in view of the threatening movements of the Prince.[36]

Shāhjahān's partisans: Āsaf Khān.

[33] Della Valle says, "Concerning Āsaf Khān it was said that he was held in custody by the King, as suspected of rebellion" (p. 121); Willoughby from Agra wrote to Sūrat, "The King certainly will come to Agra and Āsaf Khān is committed prisoner into the hands of Lālā Bīr Singh." (The English Factories in India, 1622-23, p. 197.)

[34] Iqbālnāma, p. 195.

[35] In fact Āsaf Khān was sent to Agra in deference to the wishes of Mahābat Khān who would not come to court till his bitter enemy Āsaf Khān had been removed. According to Mu'tamid Khān the original suggestion of Nūr Jahān was to send Āsaf Khān to Bengal. R. B., Vol. II, p. 245; Iqbalnāmā, p. 195; Della Valle writes: "The last news about Āsaf Khān being ordered to remove the treasure from Agra, argue that the King still entrusts him" (p. 59).

[36] Probably it was I'tibār Khān who prevented Āsaf Khān from removing the treasure, although both in Iqbālnāma and the Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī the precautionary measure is attributed to Āsaf Khān. As to the Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī, it was from this time onward continued by Mu'tamid Khān. See Iqbālnāma, p. 199; Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī, f. 189 b; R. B., Vol. II, p. 248.

Mu'tamid Khān

Another influential ally of Shāhjahān in the rival camp was Mu'tamid Khān. He was the conscience-keeper of the Emperor.[37] With such a highly privileged position he had hourly intelligence of the developments at court, which he secretly transmitted to the Prince. It is even possible that to save his own skin he employed Muhtarim Khān and Khalīl Beg to carry out the task. But they had to pay with their lives for any paltry advantages they might have gained. Mu'tamid Khān in his work says that Mahābat Khān complained even against him to the Emperor, and suggested his removal to Kabul, but the latter did not give his consent to it.[38]

Shāhjahān's march towards Dihlī.

After replenishing his already well-lined coffers, Shāhjahān moved with his army along the bank of the Jumnā giving out that he was going to meet his father. But the pretence was as transparent as that of Jahāngīr himself when, as Prince Salīm, he had rebelled against Akbar. The intelligence that Shāhjahān was moving quickly towards Dihlī where the Emperor had arrived, led him to order the mobilisation of his army to meet him. It was now no longer possible to wait for the arrival of Prince Parwīz. Hence the main command was given to Mahābat Khān and 'Abdullah Khān. Fīroz Jang was put in charge of the vanguard, the control of routes, and the intelligence department.[39] Shāhjahān appointed Dārāb Khān as Commander-in-Chief, and Rājā Bhīm, Rustam Khān and Bairam Beg were to assist him.

37 R. B., Vol. II, p. 246.

38 Iqbālnāma, p. 198.

39 R. B., Vol. II, p. 251; Iqbālnāma, p. 201; Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī justifies the conduct of Ābdullah Khān and says that he nursed a grievance both against the Emperor and the Empress (f. 190 b); Sālih adds that Jahāngīr entrusted this post to 'Abdullah Khān ' in ignorance of the fact that he was in collusion with the Prince and that he forged reports and passed them as veracious ' (Vol. I, p. 171); Herbert calls 'Abdullah Khān as weathercock ' of those times (p. 95)

The rival forces joined the battle between Qubūlpūr and Bilochpūr near Dihlī. Both sides opened fire and the contest grew hot. In the midst of it, 'Abdullah Khān in accordance with a preconcerted plan, deserted with his followers to the other side. But his arrival in Shāhjahān's camp occasioned great confusion. None but Rājā Vikramājīt was aware of his intended desertion, and while he was proceeding to inform Dārāb Khān of it, he was killed by a chance shot on the way. This made the situation worse. The Imperialists courageously charged the disorganised host and put them to flight. Rājā Vikramājīt's dead body was left in the field. The *muqaddam* of the village cut off his head and sent it to Khān A'zam who forwarded it to court.[40]

Battle of Bilochpūr.

Jahāngīr continued his march towards Agra, and arrived at Fathpūr on April 10, 1623. Without going to the capital he started for Ajmīr, because Shāhjahān had taken that road on his way to the Deccan. At Hinduān the arrival of Prince Parwīz was reported to the Emperor, and he ordered 'the powerful princes and illustrious *amīrs* to go out to meet him.' Later in the day he was formally received at court. He was promoted to the rank of 40,000 *zāt* and 30,000 *suwār*, and with Mahābat Khān and a host of other officers was ordered to go in pursuit of the rebel Prince.[41] Sādiq Khān, the chief Bakhshī, was appointed governor of the Panjāb with instructions to put down the trouble of Jagat Singh.[42]

Jahāngīr's movements.

[40] R. B., Vol. II, pp. 254-55; Meagre account in Iqbālnāma, pp. 202-203 and in Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī, f. 191.

[41] R. B., Vol. II, pp. 258-59; Iqbālnāma, p. 204.

[42] R. B., Vol. II, p. 259; Iqbālnāma, p. 203.

Shāhjahān after his discomfiture near B'lochpūr entered Rājpūtāna and plundered Āmer in the absence of Rājā Jai Singh who had been summoned to court.[43] He reached Māndū on August 17, 1623, but hearing of the hot pursuit by Prince Parwīz and Mahābat Khān he left the place the very next day and marched to Burhānpūr, where he thought he would be able to gain some respite ; but the Imperialists overtook him on the way. Before coming to grips with the rebels, Mahābat Khān enticed away a large number of men from their party. Barq Andāz Khān with the entire artillery deserted Shāhjahān, and he was followed by Md. Murād Badakhshī, Rustam Khān and many others.[44] This was enough to discourage Shāhjahān, and he crossed the Narbada.

Shāhjahān's retreat.

As a last resort he now attempted to secure the line of the Narbada against the Imperialists by withdrawing all the boats from the other side, and by appointing Bairam Beg to keep a strict watch on the banks and in particular on the ferries. At this stage the treachery of the Khān Khānān was revealed to Shāhjahān, and Md. Taqī, his messenger to Mahābat Khān was produced with his letters addressed to him. It contained the following significant lines of verse :

Khān Khānān's treachery.

> A hundred men are watching me,
> Otherwise I would fly from trouble.

When Shāhjahān showed this letter to the Khān Khānān and Dārāb Khān, they denied all knowledge of it. But the evidence was conclusive, and both of them were interned together with their families.[46]

[43] Gaurī Shankar Hīrā Chandra Ojhā, 'Rājpūtānā Kā Itihās' (History of Rājpūtāna), pp. 824-25.

[44] Iqbālnāma, p. 209; R. B., Vol. II, pp. 271-72.

[46] R. B., Vol. II, p. 274; Iqbālnāma, p. 210; Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī, f. 194; Maāsir-ul-Umarā, Vol. I, p. 706.

Shāhjahān now pushed on to Asīrgadh where Hisāmuddīn S. Jamāluddīn Husain Anjū opened the gates and admitted the rebels.[46] Leaving some of his women and heavy luggage there the Prince marched to Burhānpūr taking the Khān Khānān and Dārāb Khān with him. On the way he sent Rāo Ratan Hāḍā to open negotiations for peace with Mahābat Khān. The latter made the release of the Khān Khānān a condition precedent to any such talk. In an hour of utter hopelessness and helplessness Shāhjahān with folded arms and bent knees implored the old man to plead for him with the Imperialists. And the Khān Khānān, impervious to scruples as he was, gave his word of honour to the suppliant.[47] But before he could reach the southern bank of the Narbadā, the Imperialists had crossed it, and had thus gained a fair advantage over the rebels. The Khān Khānān found himself in a dilemma, not knowing whether to go forward or backward. In the end he decided to go to Prince Parwīz, and gave his allegiance to him.[48]

Shāhjahān hounded out of the Deccan.

The passage of the river and the desertion of the Khān Khānān unnerved Shāhjahān. In utter confusion he crossed the Tāptī on September 10, 1623. His negotiations with Malik 'Ambar and the 'Ādilshāh had already failed, so he adopted the only course now open to him, that of seeking a passage through Golconda to Orissa, and trying his luck in Bengal. The Imperialists after pursuing him for forty *karohs* returned to Burhānpūr[49] where Prince Parwīz enjoyed a well-earned rest. But Shāhjahān knew not a moment's peace. The eclipse of his fortunes was complete. Bereft of his allies, forsaken by his own followers, shorn of all his former glories,

46 R. B., Vol. II, p. 278.

47 R. B., Vol. II, pp. 278-79.

48 Ibid.

49 Sālih, Vol. I, p. 177.

hounded from place to place, his was a veritable life of misery. Nevertheless with hopes of success surging in his breast, he very courageously embarked upon a new venture.

When he arrived near the frontier of the kingdom of Golconda, he despatched Mīr 'Abd-us-Salām to Muhammad Qutbshāh to represent his distressing situation to him and secure his assistance. The latter received the messenger amicably, and agreed to help his master. He was allowed to pass through his territories provided he did not stop long in any place. Further the Qutbshāh ordered his frontier officers to treat the Prince with great consideration and respect, and he even sent him some money—an act of generosity which was ill-requited by Shāhjahān after his accession.[50]

Welcomed by the Qutbshāh.

Crossing the Telingāna Shāhjahān reached the port of Masulīpatam, whence he pushed on to Orissa. His appearance on the frontier found the Imperial forces almost entirely unprepared. The Governor Ahmad Beg Khān though he had been warned[51] by his uncle Ibrāhīm Khān, Governor of Bengal, of the movements of the Prince, had never expected him to move so swiftly. Accordingly, without taking any precautions or making any arrangements for the defence of the frontier, he had gone on an expedition against a local chieftain.[52] When he heard of the arrival of Shāhjahān, he gave up his campaign and returned to

Occupied Orissa.

[50] Della Valle writes: 'The Qutbshāh did not assist him (Shāhjahān) out of awe of his father, nor yet drive him out of his territories out of respect to himself, but let him enjoy the possession of a certain small circuit in his country to which he had retired' (p. 419); Thomas and John Dod in their letter from Masulīpatam to Sūrat describe the conditions on which Shāhjahān was permitted to enter Golconda (The English Factories in India, pp. 313-15); Qazvīnī, f. 106; Iqbālnāmā, p. 215; R. B., Vol. II, p. 291; Hadīqat-us-Salātīn, f. 229; Futūhāt-i-'Ādilshāhī, ff. 285-87.

[51] Jahāngīr saw this move on the part of Shāhjahān. R. B., Vol. II, pp. 280-81; Sālih, Vol. I, pp. 177-78.

[52] Iqbālnāma says that it was the Zamīndār Girdhar (p. 217).

Piplī. But courage now failed him, and he retreated pell-mell to Cuttock, and thence to Burdwān,[53] where he joined Sālih, nephew of Ja'far Beg. Shāhjahān found the way clear before him, and without meeting any check in Orissa, he entered Bengal. At Burdwān Sālih, who would not be tempted to join the rebels, barred their path, but after a brief struggle he was defeated and the victors resumed their march.

After his success against Sālih, Shāhjahān addressed a letter to Ibrāhīm Khān, the Governor of Bengal, asking him either to withdraw to court, in which case he would not be molested, or to surrender.[54] But the latter boldly replied that he would resist to his last breath; and he moved from Dācca to Rājmahall where he strengthened the fort.[55] Shāhjahān also arrived there, and while he himself stopped in the town, he sent Sayyid Ja'far, Shujaā't Khān, Sayyid Qāsim and Safdar Khān to invest the fort. Ibrāhim Khān defended it with great firmness and skill, but when the rebels attempted to seize in the town the families of some of those who were inside the fort, he sallied forth with his men, fought a contested battle, and died fighting on the field.[56] Upon this the garrison capitulated, and the fort was occupied by Shāhjahān, who now proceeded to Dācca, where Ahmad Beg Khān tendered his submission and offered four millions of rupees. The whole of Bengal lay at the feet of the Prince. A rich booty of three millions replenished his depleted treasury, and 500 elephants and a flotilla of boats added enormously to

Bengal.

[53] According to Sālih, Ahmad Beg closed the way on Shāhjahān, fought a battle, was defeated, and then he retreated to Bengal (Vol. I, p. 179).

[54] R. B., Vol. II, p. 299; Iqbālnāma, p. 218; Sālih, Vol. I, p. 180.

[55] Qazvīnī, f. 106 b; Iqbālnāma, p. 219. It was not the fort of Akbarnagar to which Ibrāhīm Khān retreated: but he took protection in the mausoleum of his son which was smaller and could easily be defended.

[56] For a detailed account of the battle see Iqbālnāma, pp. 219-22: Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī, f. 198; Sālih, pp. 181-84; Qazvīnī, ff. 106-107 b.

his resources. His drooping spirits were revived and he felt spurred to further action.

Leaving Bengal in charge of Dārāb Khān Shāhjahān marched further east. Patna was captured by Rājā Bhīm and the whole of Bihār passed easily into the hands of the rebels.[57] The invincible fortress of Rohtās was surrendered by Sayyid Mubārak.[58] From this place 'Abdullah Khān was sent to Allahābād, and Dariyā Khān to Oudh. The former reached Jhūsī, crossed the Ganges, encamped in the town and besieged the Allahābād fort; and to support him Shāhjahān arrived with his flotilla of boats at Jaunpūr.

March to Bihār.

Meanwhile Mahābat Khān and Prince Parwīz, in response to urgent orders from court,[59] marched rapidly from the Deccan and arrived near Allahābād to deal with the rebels. They dislodged 'Abdullah Khān and others who were investing the fort, and pushed them to Jaunpūr. Shāhjahān was now in a difficult situation. He was surrounded on three sides by the Imperialists who cut off his supply of provisions and fodder, and his Bengal allies, the boatmen, slipped off. Desperately he risked a battle. He was defeated, and most of his followers were slain or dispersed.[60] He retreated to Rohtās, where Prince Murād was born.

Put to flight by Mahābat.

57 Iqbālnāma, p. 222: Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī, f. 198 b.

58 Iqbālnāma, p. 222. For a detailed description of Rohtās see Qazvīnī, f. 107.

59 R. B., Vol. II, p. 294.

60 Iqbālnāma, pp. 232-34; For a detailed account of the battle see Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī, ff. 202 b—205 b; Qazvīnī only says that Shāhjahān retreated from Jaunpūr on the advice of his counsellors (f. 109 b); Sālih says that Shāhjahān receded from Jaunpūr because he considered it improper to fight with the army sent against him by his father (Vol. I, p. 187).

His success in the east proved ephemeral. Bihār was soon recovered by the Imperialists and he found it impossible to stay at Rohtās for more than three days. To add to his miseries Dārāb Khān turned his back on him.[61] So he was compelled to retreat to Akbarnagar whence he took the road to the Deccan. He was accompanied by Princes Dārā and Aurangzīb, and a band of faithful adherents cheered the gloom of his disappointment. He passed through Orissa and Telingāna, and entered the country of the Nizām-ul-Mulk. Malik Ambar now received him cordially, and a close alliance between the two was struck up, their bond of sympathy being hostility to the Imperial Government.

Return to the Deccan.

With the assistance of his new ally, Shāhjahān entered the Moghul Deccan, and laid siege to Burhānpūr. But the Imperialists led by Rāo Ratan offered an obstinate resistance. The assailants led several assaults but failed. While these operations were going on Mahābat Khān and Prince Parwīz arrived in the Deccan for a second time. This compelled Shāhjahān to raise the siege and retreat to Rohankhed.[62] On the way he fell seriously ill and much to his chagrin 'Abdullah Khān also deserted him at this critical hour.[63]

Besieged Burhānpūr.

His spirits were now completely broken and his pride fully subdued. He was unable to continue the struggle any longer. There were neither men nor money to help him ; so he addressed representations to court for pardon. He was told to instruct his officers to surrender Asīrgadh and Rohtās, and to send to court the Princes Dārā and Aurangzīb as hostages for his good conduct. He complied with these demands, and in addition sent a present

Submission.

61 Iqbālnāma, p. 239.

62 Iqbālnāma, p. 244.

63 Iqbālnāma, pp. 248-49.

of three hundred thousand rupees.[64] But he was still afraid to enter the Imperial territories, and took up resid nce at Nāsik.

Thus ended a rebellion which kept the Empire in a state of excitement for over three years. It occasioned a huge sacrifice of men and money and in no way improved Shāhjahān's chances of the throne. What were the causes of its failure? First, his mistaken strategy: his march to the north carried him to the sea, and made it impossible for him to make a determined stand at any place during his hurried retreat. Secondly, the half-hearted support of his officers: the Khān Khānān and Dārāb Khān were mere opportunists, and they sided with him because they were compelled to do so. Likewise, there were many others whose hearts were not in the struggle; hence Mahābat Khān's success in weaning away a large number from his side. Thirdly, the loss of some of the trusted commanders: Rājā Vikramājīt fell in the early stages of struggle, and Rājā Bhīm was killed near Jaunpūr. Fourthly, his limited resources. He had been playing a successful rôle, solely on the strength of the support he received from the Imperial Government, and now, when he pitted himself against it, his discomfiture was a foregone conclusion. But his earlier success had blinded him to his limitations.

Causes of failure.

However, the disgrace and downfall of Shāhjahān did not bring Nūr Jahān any nearer to her goal. The suppression of one rival brought another into the field. She now scented danger from the close alliance between Mahābat Khān and Prince Parwīz. The former had been her life-long enemy, and she tolerated him because there was no other leader competent to deal with Shāhjahān. But the rebellion was over, and it was no longer necessary to keep him in a dominant position. Moreover, his separation from Parwīz would automatically destroy the latter's source of strength. Accordingly Mahābat Khān was

Nūr Jahān's plans.

64 Iqbālnāma, p. 274; Qazvīnī has ten lakhs or one million (f. 109 b).

ordered to the distant province of Bengal, and Khān Jahān Lodhī, a devoted follower of Jahāngīr, was appointed in his place as guardian of Prince Parwīz.[65]

Nūr Jahān, however, did not stop here. She wanted to ruin the veteran warrior completely. For the prosecution of her ambitious designs she needed the support of a clever man: and for once she and her brother Āsaf Khān became of one mind, and together they plotted against Mahābat Khān. He was accused of embezzlement and disloyalty, and was called upon to clear his position. But he was shrewd enough to see through the mischievous intentions of his enemies, and so with his devoted band of Rājpūt followers advanced from Bengal to teach them a lesson. When the Imperial camp was crossing the Jhelum, he arrived there and took both the Emperor and Nūr Jahān prisoners. Āsaf Khān escaped to Attock, but he was soon compelled to surrender.[66] With his enemies well in hand, he proceeded with the Emperor to Kabul, where during the sojourn counterplots weakened his power. On the way back, Nūr Jahān succeeded in securing the release of her husband, and Mahābat Khān fell from the position of a dictator to that of a rebel. He was hotly pursued by an Imperial army and took refuge in the forests of Mewār.

Her attempt to ruin Mahābat Khān.

The news of Mahābat Khān's *coup d'etat* set Shāhjahān thinking. The Emperor was in Kabul, and there was enough work for Parwīz and Khān Jahān to keep them busy in the Deccan. He had too long been living on the bounty of the Deccan rulers.[67] Malik 'Ambar was dead and the situation at the Nizāmshāhī court had become uncertain. Why should he not

Shāhjahān's march to Sind.

[65] Iqbālnāma, p. 245; Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī says that he was removed because the Deccan nobles were dissatisfied with him (f. 213).

[66] Bangham witnessed this battle and gives a graphic account of it The English Factories in India (1624-29), pp. 151-53.

[67] Futūhāt-i-'Ādilshāhī, ff. 293-95; Hadīqat-us-Salātīn, f. 229.

leave the Deccan and try to seize Sind with the help of the Shāh of Persia? Moreover, the climate of Nāsik did not suit him, and the treachery of the Deccanīs, especially the Habashīs, worried him.[68] So he left his place of refuge on June 8, 1626, and a month later reached Ajmīr, where he visited the tomb of Shaykh Mu'īnuddīn Chishtī. Then by way of Nāgaur and Jaisalmīr he marched towards Thattah. He took the same route as his ancestor Humāyūn had taken during his journey across Rājpūtānā. Early in October he appeared before Thattah, and laid siege to it.

Causes of his retreat

But before the month was over he was in retreat from Sind and on his way back to the Deccan. Several causes led him to take this decision. First, his failure against the fort and the death of his two devoted officers Rājā Gopāldās Gauḍ and 'Alī Khān Tarīn. Secondly, the news of serious illness of Parwīz. Thirdly, the end of Mahābat Khān's domination. And finally, the disappointing attitude of the Shāh of Persia.

Shāhjahān's relations with the Shāh of Persia.

Shāhjahān had been for some years in correspondence with the Persian monarch. His first messenger to the Shāh was Zāhid Beg[69] who, on his arrival in Persia, found Shāh 'Abbās besieging Qandahār. He was not admitted to audience till the latter's return from the campaign. Zāhid Beg on his return saw his master at Fathpūr. The second emissary was Khvāja Hāji, whom Shāhjahān sent to Persia at the time of his retreat to the Deccan.[70] In his letter to the Shāh, the Prince describes the circumstances which led him to march to the north, and refers in ambiguous terms to the results of the battle which he fought with the Imperialists near Dihlī. He concludes

68 Sālih, Vol. I, p. 193.

69 'Ālam Ārāy 'Abbāsī, ff. 243b-44; Jām'a-ul-Inshā', ff. 211-14; Jāma' al Marāsilāt, ff. 226-27.

70 'Ālam Ārāy 'Abbāsī, ff. 275b-76; Jām'a-ul-Inshā', ff. 214-16; Jāma' al Marāsilāt, f. 228.

with these words: "I have, like my ancestors, turned for help to you, and I hope that you will give me proper advice at the proper time."[71] But the appeal met with only a formal reply: the Shāh advised the Prince to be loyal and obedient to his father, and told him that he was sending an ambassador to Jahāngīr recommending his case to him.[72] The third letter which Shāhjahān addressed to the Shāh was sent after his submission to his father. In it he communicated the conditions on which he had come to terms with the Imperial Government.[73] Perhaps, in his verbal charge to his messenger Ishaq Beg, he asked him to induce the Shāh to help him. It was the prospect of this assistance more than anything else, which led him to move towards Sind. He even intended to pass over to Persia and then return like Humāyūn to recover the throne. But the Shāh did not go beyond an expression of goodwill, protested concern for the affairs of the Prince, and in his letter repeated the advice he had given on a previous occasion.[74]

Thus the cold attitude of his avowed friend, and his discomfiture against Thattah, left no alternative to Shāhjahān but to return to the Deccan. On the way he heard the welcome news of the death of Prince Parwīz. He quickened his pace, for the event roused new hopes in his heart. In the course of his journey he received friendly overtures from Mahābat Khān and sent him a favourable reply. He reached Nāsik in November 1626, where he was joined by Khidmat Parast Khān and Sayyid Muzaffar Bārah. The climate of this place being unsuitable to him, with the permission of the Nizām-ul-Mulk he moved in March to Junnār, where Malik 'Ambar had built a beautiful house. Here Mahābat Khān arrived on October 22, 1627, with

Death of Parwīz.

71 'Ālam Ārāy 'Abbāsī ff. 275b-76

72 Jām'a ul Inshā', ff. 216-18; Jāma' al Marāsilāt, f. 227.

73 Iqbālnāma, p. 280.

74 Jāma' al Marāsilāt, f. 227.

2,000 horsemen[75] and it seemed that Shāhjahān's prospects were brightening for a second time.

Meanwhile affairs at court had been changing with extraordinary rapidity. After his deliverance from the thraldom of Mahābat Khān, Jahāngīr went to Kashmir, because his constitution could no longer bear the heat of Lahore. But here his chronic complaint, asthma, took a servere turn, and Prince Shahriyār, too, fell ill of Fox's disease. A return to Lahore was decided upon, and the Prince was ordered to precede the court to that place and arrange for his treatment there. On the way Jahāngīr's condition became hopeless, and he died at Rājaurī on Sunday, October 29, 1627.

Death of Jahāngīr.

The death of the Emperor brought the question of the succession to the fore. Nūr Jahān, in expectation of the crisis, had for a long time been making almost frantic efforts to perpetuate her domination. She had withdrawn her support from Shāhjahān, because she found his temperament too powerful to admit of her control. She had adopted Shahriyār as her candidate to the throne, because he was a pliable and worthless creature. She did everything to advance his cause and to bring him into prominence. But unfortunately, just at the critical juncture he happened to be away from the scene. His absence affected his chances to a very large extent, because some of the wavering nobles, who might have sided with him, were easily won over by the protagonists of the rival candidate.

However, Nūr Jahān made a final bid to retain her power. She hurriedly sent a messenger to her son-in-law, Shahriyār, to prepare for a struggle, and even tried to imprison her brother.[76] But Āsaf Khān was quite alert, and proved too astute to fall a prey

Nūr Jahān's final bid.

75 Iqbālnāma, p. 289; Qazvīnī, f. 111b; For a contemporary account see President Kerridge's letter to E.I.Co. (The English Factories in India, 1624-29), pp. 204-205.

76 Iqbālnāma, p. 294; Qazvīnī, f. 113b. For Nūr Jahān's interest in Shahriyār see. The English Factories in India (1624-29), pp. 171-72.

to her machinations. He refused to go to see her, and with the assistance of his confederates began to mature his own designs of securing succession for Shāhjahān. First he won over to his views the *Mīr Bakhshī* Irādat Khān and then in consultation with him took a step which was meant at once to bridge over a constitutional difficulty, and to create a crisis which would ultimately redound to the advantage of his cause.

Āsaf Khān's plans.

Shāhjahān was far away in the Deccan, and it was difficult in his absence, to secure the allegiance to him of the rank and file. The men of those days were accustomed to fight for an individual, not for a cause. The figure of a man in flesh and blood instinctively appealed to them more than an abstract idea. Moreover, a man on the spot claimed their loyalty first; and in the present case Shahriyār was nearer than Shāhjahān. So the problem before Āsaf Khān was how to secure general sympathy in face of an imminent struggle with Shahriyār. He could not at this stage proclaim Shāhjahān as Emperor, because that would carry little weight; nor could he fight Shahriyār, because it would be tantamount to rebellion. There was need for a formal constitutional head to lend a legal colour to his activities. He hit upon the plan of proclaiming Dāwar Bakhsh as King,[77] because it would fill a gap in the imagination of the people. It was certainly an extremely politic move. The late Emperor had been for some time favouring this prince, and as the son of the deceased Khusrav, his claims to the throne were better than those of Shahriyār who was the son of a slave-girl, no matter that he was the son-in-law of the Empress.

With Dāwar Bakhsh at their head, Āsaf Khān and his party marched to Bhimbhar. Nūr Jahān was utterly stunned to hear of this unexpected move of her enemies; and she quickly followed them with the dead body of the late Emperor She had by her side the three Princes, Dārā, Shujā' and Aurangzīb. At Bhimbhar Āsaf Khān won over more men to

[77] Iqbālnāma, p. 294; Qazvinī, f. 114.

the cause of Shāhjahān, and with the assistance of Khvāja Abul Hasan, who was staying there, he succeeded in removing the three Princes from the control of his sister, and in sending the dead body of the late Emperor to Lahore for burial. Next he conciliated Sādiq Khān who was not favourably disposed to Shāhjahān, and in order to assure him of the high degree of trust to be reposed in him, Āsaf Khān placed the three Princes in his charge.[78] It was now fairly easy to deal with Nūr Jahān. She was immediately put under surveillance, and nobody was allowed to approach her or talk to her.

When Shahriyār heard of the death of his father, and of the preparations of his enemies, he proclaimed himself Emperor.

Preparations of Shahriyār.

He seized the entire treasure at Lahore, and also the mass of artillery which Jahāngīr had left there while going to Kashmir. Further, he confiscated the property of the *amīrs*, and imprisoned their women and children. Then by distributing money lavishly he recruited a large army which he placed under Bāisanghar S. Dāniyāl, who had fled from the control of Khvāja Abul Hasan, and come to Lahore. Āsaf Khān also marshalled his troops in battle array and advanced to give battle to the enemy.

The rival forces met within three miles of Lahore. Āsaf Khān rode on an elephant to show himself to his followers, and

Shahriyār defeated.

to cheer them to fight. His troops, though not adequately equipped, consisted of experienced men who had seen many a battle. On the other hand, Shahriyār's army hurriedly recruited as it was, was no more than a rabble, most of whom had never heard the sound of a gun. On the very first charge they broke up and fled. Shahriyār, who was waiting for a signal from his Commander-in-Chief to go to his help, was detained by the artifices of Afzal Khān who was at this time in his camp and

[78] Iqbālnāma, p. 299; Qazvīnī, f. 114; Lāhaurī says that as Āsaf Khān had proclaimed Bulāqī (Dāwar Bakhsh) King, he did not consider it proper to keep these Princes with him, and so he handed them over to Sādiq Khān (Vol. I, p. 72).

posed himself as his friend. So, when the former heard of the defeat of Bāisanghar, he retreated to the fort and closed the gates. But his doom was sealed.

Imprisoned.

From the field of battle Āsaf Khān moved nearer to the fort, and established himself in the garden of Mehdī Qāsim Khān. Here Afzal Khān came to see him, and he was followed by a large number of other adherents of Shahriyār, who deserted their master. Access to the fort thus becoming easy, Irādat Khān and Shāyista Khān entered it in the night and pitched their camp in the royal courtyard. In the morning they occupied the citadel and instituted a search for Shahriyār. He hid himself in the seraglio, but the eunuchs Fīroz Khān and Khidmat Khān were in league with Āsaf Khān. They betrayed the prince and surrendered him to Allah Vardī Khān. The latter brought him before Dāwar Bakhsh, and compelled him to perform *kornish* (bow). He was ordered to be imprisoned, and two days later was blinded. Shortly after, Tahmūrs and Hoshang, sons of Dāniyāl, were also consigned to prison.[79]

Dāwar Bakhsh a sacrificial lamb.

Thus playing a skilful game, Āsaf Khān removed one by one the rivals of Shāhjahān. Everyone knew that Dāwar Bakhsh was merely a 'sacrificial lamb.' When the news that he was to be proclaimed the next Emperor was conveyed to him, he did not believe it,[80] till Āsaf Khān and Irādat Khān assured him of its truth by taking oaths before him. But neither of these nobles knew that by his action he was setting a precedent which in future would shed the blood of many an innocent prince. For the time being their only thought was of Shāhjahān, and they were ready to go to any length to secure his accession.

79 Iqbālnāma, pp. 296-97; Qazvīnī, ff. 115-17.
80 Iqbālnāma, p. 294.

Information sent to Shāhjahān.

The very day that Āsaf Khān proclaimed Dāwar Bakhsh as Emperor, he sent Banārsī Hindū with his signet ring to Shāhjahān in the Deccan. As there was no time to write a letter he charged the messenger with verbal messages, and asked him to travel as quickly as possible.[81] Banārsī covered the distance in twenty days and reached Junnār on Sunday, November 18, 1627. On the way he met Mahābat Khān, and the two went together to congratulate the Prince.[82] But Shāhjahān showed an outward concern at the death of his father, and proposed to stay in the Deccan to observe the period of mourning. His counsellors, however, advised him to hasten ; and the astrologers were asked to choose the auspicious time for the journey to the north. They fixed it for the following Thursday ; and Shāhjahān left Junnār at the appointed time. He sent Amānullah and Bāyazīd to communicate to Āsaf Khān the news of his departure to Ahmadābād.

Shāhjahān sent Jān Nisār Khān to Khān Jahān.

Though not formally proclaimed Emperor, Shāhjahān was now the *de facto* sovereign of the Moghul Empire ; and he fully realised the responsibilities which devolved on him. He felt much concerned about the Deccan ; and to avoid any further complications there, the day he left Junnār he despatched Jān Nisār Khān to Khān Jahān Lodhī, with orders confirming the latter in his post and granting him many other concessions. But Khān Jahān received the messenger curtly, and sent him back without any reply. Further he leagued himself with the Nizāmshāh to the detriment of the Moghul interests in the Deccan.[83]

81 Iqbālnāma p. 294.

82 Iqbālnāma, p. 298; Qazvīnī, f. 117 b; Mīra't-i-Ahmadī, f. 81 b

83 Iqbālnāma, p. 299; Qazvīnī, f. 118.

Shāhjahān's march to the north was like a triumphal procession. The period of his misfortunes was now over, and the second dawn of his glory had set in. On the frontier of Gujarāt he received a report from Nāhar Khān (Shīr Khān) regarding the doubtful attitude[84] of the governor Saif Khān. Shāhjahān appointed him governor, and ordered him to bring Saif Khān a prisoner to court. The latter had married the sister of Arjumand Bānū Begum who was extremely fond of her. Being apprehensive of Saif Khān's safety, she sent Parastār Khān to Ahmadābād to see that no harm befell her disgraced brother-in-law.[85]

Shāhjahān's march to the north.

The Narbada was crossed at the ferry of Bābā Piyāra and the royal cavalcade reached Sinūr about the end of November. Here Shāhjahān celebrated his lunar birthday on the 28th of the month, and while the festivities were going on a letter was received from Shīr Khān announcing the defeat of Shahriyār by Āsaf Khān. The news heightened the joy of Shāhjahān and he ordered drums to be beaten to celebrate the victory.

Lunar birthday celebrations.

Shīr Khān came out to welcome Shāhjahān at Mahmūdābād, twelve *karohs* from Ahmadābād. The royal camp was pitched at the Kānkarya *tālāb* ; and Shāhjahān stopped here for a week to arrange certain administrative affairs and take some rest. Shīr Khān was promoted to 5,000 *zāt* and 8,000 *suwār*, and Mirzā 'Īsā to 4,000 *zāt* and 2,500 *suwār*. Khidmat Parast Khān was sent to Lahore with a *farmān* to Āsaf Khān asking him, ' in view of political and public considerations, to put out the eyes of Shahriyār, Dāwar Bakhsh and his brothers Tahmūrs and Hoshang, and to bring them to court if possible, otherwise to despatch them to their rightful abode.' This was a covert hint for their execution.[86]

In Gujarāt.

84 Iqbālnāma, p. 300: Qazvīnī, f. 118 b; Mira't-i-Ahmadī, f. 82.

85 Qazvīnī, f. 119; Iqbālnāma, p. 301.

86 Qazvīnī, f. 120; Iqbālnāma, p. 303.

On January 1, 1628, Shāhjahān reached Goganda, where Rānā Karan of Mewār offered him valuable presents. Shāhjahān, in return, bestowed on him a costly robe of honour, a jewelled sword, a dagger set with precious stones, a necklace containing a Qutbī Badakhshānī ruby worth 30,000 rupees, an elephant, with silver housings, and a horse with a golden saddle.[87] On the 6th Shāhjahān celebrated his solar weighing ceremony on the bank of the Māndel tank. On the 14th he reached Ajmīr, and encamped on the Anāsāgar. Like his father and grandfather he went on foot to the tomb of Shaykh Mu'īnuddīn Chishti and issued orders for the building of a marble mosque in fulfilment of a vow which he took at the time of the Mewār campaign. After appointing Mahābat Khān to the governorship of Ajmīr, he set out for Agra. On the way several *amīrs*, e.g., Khān 'Ālam, Muzaffar Khān Ma'mūrī, Bahādur Khān Uzbeg, Rājā Jai Singh, Rājā Bhārat, Sayyid Bārah, etc., paid their respects at the successive stages.

In Rājpūtāna.

Upon the arrival of Amānullah and Bāyāzīd, Āsaf Khān with the concurrence of other nobles read the *Khutba* in Shāhjahān's name on January 19, 1628. On the same day he consigned Dāwar Bakhsh to prison. Two days later, Khidmat Parast Khān arrived with the second *farmān*, and in obedience to it Āsaf Khān put to death Dāwar Bakhsh and his brother Gurshāsp, Shahriyār, and Tahmūrs and Hoshang, the sons of Dāniyāl.[88]

Khutba read in Shāhjahān's name.

[87] Qazvīnī, f. 120 b. Lāhaurī says that Karan was given the rank of 5,000 *zāt* and 5,000 *suwār* (Vol. I, p. 80). Gaurī Shankar Hīrā Chandra Ojhā, Rājpūtānā Kā Itihās (History of Rājpūtāna), p. 828.

[88] Qazvīnī, Lāhaurī and Mu'tamid Khān clearly assert that all of the five princes were put to death by order of Shāhjahān; but in the annals of Persia and in the account of some European travellers we come across a strange story about the survival of Bulāqī or Dāwar Bakhsh who, it is said, escaped by substituting another man in his place. (Tāhir Vahīd, f. 17 b.) In the Jāma'-i-Marāsilāt there are two letters addressed by the Shāh to Sultān Bulāqī, (f. 263). Khuld-i-Barin, ff. 259b-261b, Mandelslo testifies to the presence of Bulāqī in Qazvīn, p. 119. Herbert

Thus the blood of five innocent princes was shed unnecessarily: and though fortune now smiled on Shāhjahān, he suffered his nemesis in the end, when he had to witness the execution of two of his sons, and the disappearance of a third.

Shāhjahān reached the vicinity of Agra on Thursday, January 28, 1628, and stopped in the Dahārā garden for twelve days, waiting for the auspicious hour fixed for his state entry into the capital. On Monday, February 4, at the exact time indicated by court astrologers, the coronation of the new Emperor took place.[89] The *Khutba* was read in his name, and he assumed the lofty style of Abul Muzaffar Shihābuddīn Muhammad Sāhib Qirān Sānī. Fast couriers were despatched to distant provinces to proclaim his accession. Shaykhs and Sayyids, poets and astrologers, the learned and the pious, all partook of the generous bounty displayed by the Emperor. Hakīm Ruknāī Kāshī, Sa'īdāī Gīlānī, and Mīr Sālih composed felicitous chronograms and were richly rewarded.

Coronation.

From the Hall of Audience, the Emperor retired to the *harim* where Arjumand Bānū Begum, Jahān Ārā and other ladies flocked round him to tender their congratulations to him. They showered gold and silver on him and distributed alms lavishly. This outburst of love and affection delighted Shāhjahān, who reciprocated it by bestowing bounteous gifts. To his wife, the Empress Mumtāz Mahall, he gave a present of two hundred thousand *ashrafīs*, and six hundred thousand rupees, and fixed for her an annual allowance of one million rupees. To Jahān Ārā Begum, he gave one hundred thousand *ashrafīs*, and four

Festivities.

says the same thing. Manucci (Vol. I, p. 181) and Tavernier (Vol. I, p. 338) repeat the same story, and the latter remarks that Bernier saw Bulāqī and had a talk with him (p. 339). But in a letter to King Philip the Viceroy of Goa states that this man was an impostor. [The English Factories in India (1630—33), VI, n. 1.]

89 For a detailed account of accession see Qazvīnī, ff. 121-32; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 82-99. Lāhaurī remarks that Shāhjahān adopted the style of Shihābuddīn on the suggestion of Āsaf Khān (p. 96).

hundred thousand rupees and fixed for her an annual allowance of six hundred thousand rupees—half of which was to be paid to her in cash from the royal exchequer, and for the other half equivalent *jāgīrs* were assigned to her. Allowances and gifts for other princes and princesses were also set apart. The Emperor gave eight hundred thousand rupees to his wife, of which four hundred and fifty thousand rupees were to be reserved for Dārā, Shujā' and Aurangzīb, and the balance was to be distributed among Murād, Lutfullah, Roshanārā and Surayyā Begum.

Promotions.

It was customary to award distinctions and promotions to courtiers and officers on such occasions ; and Shāhjahān followed the practice with greater lavishness than any of his predecessors. The first to be honoured was Āsaf Khān who was promoted to the *mansab* of 8,000 *zāt* and 8,000 *suwār do aspa sih aspa*, the title of 'Uncle' and the premier rank in the Empire. Next was Mahābat Khān who was promoted to 7,000 *zāt* and 7,000 *suwār du aspa sih aspa* and the title of Khān Khānān. Other names which deserve to be mentioned in this connection are : Wazir Khān, Sayyid Muzaffar Bārah, Dilāwar Khān, Bahādur Khān, Sardār Khān, Rājā Vithaldās and Khidmat Parast Khān. The last named was promoted to the post of Mīr Tuzuk.

Administrative changes.

After promotions came the changes which were made in the administration. Loyal officers were confirmed in their posts, while the suspect and disobedient were removed to make room for the faithful. In the first category were Āsaf Khān, I'tiqād Khān, Khān Jahān, and Bāqar Khān Najm Sānī. Among the latter were : Mirzā Rustam, replaced in Bihār by Khān 'Ālam, Khvāja Abul Hasan replaced by Lashkar Khān in Kabul, Fidāī Khān, replaced by Qāsim Khān Juvainī in Bengal ; Saif Khān replaced in Gujarāt by Shīr Khān, Muzaffar Khān replaced in Mālwa by Khān Zamān S. Mahābat Khān, Jahāngīr Qulī, replaced in Allahābād by Jān-Sipār Khān, and Mukhlis Khān, replaced in Dihlī by Qulij Khān.

The coronation festivities did not come to a close till the arrival of Āsaf Khān, who reached the precincts of Agra on February 26, 1628. He stopped at Sikandara, where Mumtāz Mahall and Jahān Ārā Begum went out to meet him. The Empress was much delighted to meet her children after such a long separation. Next day the Emperor ordered a magnificent reception for Āsaf Khān. All the premier nobles were asked to go out to welcome him, and to escort him to court. He was led to the *Jharoka* (window) with the princes, who offered their *nazrs* to the Emperor in turns. Shāhjahān came down, heartily embraced his sons, and permitted Āsaf Khān to kiss his feet, in itself a rare honour in those days. At the request of the Empress the royal signet ring was entrusted to him, and Shāhjahān conferred on him the post of Vakīl.

Arrival of Āsaf Khān.

After Āsaf Khān were presented those *amīrs* who had accompanied him from Lahore, and had fought so valiantly for the cause of Shāhjahān. Shāyista Khān, Sādiq Khān, Shīr Khvāja, Mīr Hisāmuddīn Anjū, Shahnawāz Khān, Mīr Jumla, Mu'tamid Khān, and others too many to mention, were ushered into the presence of the Emperor, who rewarded them adequately for their services, and commended them for their loyalty.

Thus began a reign which has been pronounced by historians to be the most magnificent in the annals of India.

CHAPTER IV

REBELLIONS

THE three important rebellions which occurred in the reign of Shāhjahān furnish an indication of the revival of a tendency so commonly to be met with in the history of Muslim rule in India. That each of them was led by a favourite of Jahāngīr is not merely an accident. By abolishing the *jāgīr* system and insisting upon efficiency, Akbar gave a new orientation to the relationship between the sovereign power and the nobility. According to the new conception, greater subserviency was demanded from the latter, whose devotion and loyalty to the King was to be a part of the duty which they owed to him, and which entitled them to no special privileges, other than those which originated from the pleasure of their master. In other words, the King could never be beholden to his nobles. This sound principle, necessary for the maintenance of absolute despotism, degenerated and was even discarded in the reign of Jahāngīr. Though the consequences did not immediately prove fatal to the Moghul sovereignty, a great stimulus was provided to the working of an evil factor which did ultimately destroy it. In the following instances it will be noticed that either the grant of *jāgīrs* in their own native land, or undue favouritism, or a combination of both, was responsible for the outbreaks.

Khān Jahān.

Khān Jahān was a person of manly build and comely appearance. Though not born with a silver spoon in his mouth, he was fortune's favourite, and passed his time in ease and affluence. Being an Afghān he was very susceptible to affront ; his manners were

rough, and his bearing haughty. Nature had endowed him with great personal courage, but he was neither a skilful commander nor a clever statesman. He was impulsive and dashing, but possessed little sustaining power. He hated the Hindūs bitterly, though in his own religious convictions he was not orthodox. He professed to be a *Sunnī* but mostly associated with the Persians, and it was one of his sayings that it is impossible to be brave without being devoted to 'Alī. He also developed a taste for *Sūfism* under the influence of Shaykh Fazlullah Burhānpurī, and is said to have passed many a night in the company of *darvīshes* and religious divines. Thus there was much in common between him and the Emperor Jahāngīr, which accounts for his rapid rise in that reign.[1]

In charge of the Deccan.

It has been related in the foregoing chapter how the rebellion of Shāhjahān was crushed, and how the Prince was rendered harmless by being driven from place to place till he took shelter with the Nizāmshāh. Of his confiscated *jāgīrs* Gujarāt was assigned to Dāwar Bakhsh, with his maternal grandfather Khān A'zam as his guardian.[2] But the latter died soon after his appointment,[3] and Dāwar Bakhsh was recalled to court. Khān Jahān was sent to hold charge of that province.[4] Later, on the suggestion of Nūr Jahān, he was sent to replace Mahābat Khān as guardian of Prince Parwīz,[5] after whose death he was confirmed as the governor of the Deccan.[6] Here he made friends with the

1 For an account of the ancestry of Khān Jahān and his early life see Makhzan-i-Afāghna; R. B., Vol. I. pp. 87—89; Maāsir-ul-Umarā, Vol. I, pp. 716—32.

2 R. B., Vol. II, p. 260.

3 Iqbālnāma, pp. 229—31; Maāsir-ul-Umarā, Vol. I, pp. 675—93.

4 Iqbālnāma, p. 231.

5 Iqbālnāma, p. 245.

6 Iqbālnāma, p. 279.

Nizāmshāh, to whom he surrendered Bālāghāt for three hundred thousand rupees.[7]

Thus on the death of Jahāngīr he stood as a traitor to the Empire. Meanwhile he watched the rapidly changing political atmosphere at court. In his eyes the contest seemed to lie between Shahriyār and Dāwar Bakhsh, and, ignorant of the real situation as he was, he felt confident of the success of Nūr Jahān, whom he thought he would easily placate.[8] Unfortunately he could not properly estimate Shāhjahān's prospects of the throne, and it is possible that he even imagined that they were non-existent. He was certainly not a clever politician, and secondly, the schemes of Āsaf Khān were a guarded secret known only to a few. In these circumstances it is no wonder that he was led astray by the evil advice of his friends Darīyā Khān Rohilla and Fāzil Khān, the *dīvān* of the Deccan, who suggested to him to wait till the end of the struggle between the rival claimants.

His erroneous survey of the political atmosphere.

In fact, they definitely estranged him from Shāhjahān by pointing out to him that the latter had *conferred the title of Commander-in-Chief on* Mahābat Khān which rightly belonged to him.[9] So when Jān Nisār Khān arrived at Burhānpūr with a message from Shāhjahān, Khān Jahān's mind was torn by conflicting emotions. He received the messenger coldly, and dismissed him unceremoniously without giving any reply to the letter, but

Declines Shāhjahān's overtures.

7 Only Mu'tamid Khān mentions this bribery; others including Qazvīnī, Lāhaurī, even Shahnawāz Khān are silent on this point. Shahnawāz Khān says that Khān Jahān made friends with the Nizām-ul-Mulk on the rumoured report of Mahābat Khān's advance on Māndū. (Iqbālnāma, p. 284; Qazvīnī, f. 118; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 76; Maāsir-ul-Umarā, Vol. I, p. 722.)

8 "Khan Jahān hath sent his son to Broach, and in all his *jāgīrs* in this province, even in Nariad the *Khutba* of Bulāqī is used." [The English Factories in India (1624—29), p. 233.]

9 Maāsir-ul-Umarā, Vol. I, p. 722.

told Jān Nisār Khān verbally that he was not in a position to serve Shāhjahān.[10]

After the return of Jān Nisār Khān, Khān Jahān moved from Burhānpūr to Mālwa to seize Māndū from its governor 'Abdur Razzāq Ma'mūrī.[11] He was accompanied by Rājā Jai Singh and Gaj Singh, who deserted him on hearing of Shāhjahān's arrival at Ajmīr.[12] It was now that Khān Jahān was finally awakened to his perilous situation, and submission to the new Emperor seemed to him the only way to save his honour. Accordingly, he sent a messenger to Agra to tender apologies to Shāhjahān, and to assure him of his obedience and loyalty. The Emperor graciously accepted his representations, confirmed him in the governorship of Berār and Khāndesh, and asked him to recover the lost territories in the Deccan.[13]

His submission.

But Khān Jahān was reluctant to make any efforts in the Deccan,[14] and when the Emperor noticed it, he transferred him to Mālwa. Upon the flight of Jujhār Singh from court, Khān Jahān was ordered to cooperate with Mahābat Khān in subduing the rebel, who soon submitted. He was then summoned to court, where he was extremely disappointed at the reception accorded to him on his arrival. No courtiers came out to welcome him and no preparations were made to greet him. However, in consideration of the respect which he had enjoyed during the last reign, Shāhjahān removed Mahābat Khān to Dihlī, because the latter, on account of his higher military rank, and the title of Khān Khānān, would not bow to Khān Jahān.[15]

Transferred from the Deccan.

10 Qazvīnī, f. 118; The English Factories in India (1624—29) p. 241.

11 Qazvīnī, f. 118; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 76.

12 Qazvīnī, f. 179 b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 76.

13 Qazvīnī, f. 180; Maāsir-ul-Umarā says that Khān Jahān sent a string of pearls to Shāhjahān. (Vol. I, p. 723.)

14 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 273.

15 Maāsir-ul-Umarā, Vol. I, p. 723.

But this was nothing as compared with the unique privileges and distinctions to which he had become accustomed, and which he now regarded as belonging to him by right. This consequent feeling of disgrace and shame made him moody and suspicious ; and when he was asked to dismiss his followers, and some of his *jāgīrs* were resumed, he grew alarmed.[16] As if this was not enough, there occurred an incident which greatly terrified him. One night, one Mirzā Lashkarī, son of Mukhlis Khān, said in jest to the sons of Khān Jahān, that they and their father would soon be thrown into prison. Khān Jahān was much dismayed on hearing this and he retired to his house. He posted his two thousand Afghāns to keep watch round him, and gave up going to court.

His sullen attitude.

Shāhjahān very soon noticed his absence, and inquired its reason from Āsaf Khān, and when the official report did not satisfy him, he sent Islām Khān to ask directly from Khān Jahān the cause of his absence from court. Khān Jahān frankly admitted his apprehension to Islām Khān, and told him that nothing but a gracious *farmān* from the Emperor could restore his equanimity. On the intercession of Āsaf Khān, Shāhjahān wrote a reassuring letter to Khān Jahān, and the latter was satisfied for the time being.[17] But it was impossible to convince him conclusively that the Emperor intended no harm to him.

Reconciliation.

On the other hand, the more he saw of the new administration, the more did his fears grow. He noticed that the methods of government were growing stringent, and that unscrupulous defaulters were being called to account. Those who had illicitly gained some advantages during the period of confusion were being brought to book, and the favourites of Jahāngīr were being removed one after another to make room for the adherents of

Causes of his fear.

16 Maāsir-ul-Umarā, Vol. I, p. 273.

17 Qazvīnī, ff. 180 b-181 ; Lāhaurī, pp. 274-75.

the new Emperor. The case of Jujhār Singh was one instance; another was the attempt of royal officers to recover the money which had been wantonly squandered by Shahriyār at Lahore.[18] These incidents made him nervous and his consciousness of guilt reduced him to desperation.

He had taken a huge bribe from the Nizāmshāh. He had practically refused to make any efforts to recover the lost territories, and he had very unceremoniously dismissed a messenger of Shāhjahān. Thus in his own eyes he stood a criminal and a traitor. The thought that he had fallen from the height of influence and power to the abyss of degradation and disgrace must have been galling to him; and the rumours of his impending punishment must have aggravated his misery and disappointment. It was not in his nature to keep up appearances for long, and so he decided on flight.

Early in the night of October 5, 1629, when it was the turn of Āsaf Khān to mount guard, some of his followers, whose houses were close to that of Khān Jahān, reported to Āsaf Khān the former's meditated flight from Agra. Upon this Āsaf Khān sent Wizīr Khān to inform the Emperor, and obtain his permission to surround the house of Khān Jahān and punish him. But in view of his recent *farmān* of pardon, Shāhjahān withheld his permission, and asked Āsaf Khān to wait till the intended flight became an accomplished fact.

His intended flight.

When about a quarter of the night had passed, Āsaf Khān hurried to the Emperor to report that Khān Jahān with his relatives and friends had fled.[19] Shāhjahān immediately ordered Khvāja Abul Hasan, Sayyid Muzaffar Khān, Nasīrī Khān, Rājā Jai Singh, Khān Zamān, Safdar Khān, Allah Vardī Khān, Fidāī Khān, Mu'tamid

Pursuit.

18 Qazvīnī, f. 115 b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 72.

19 When Khān Jahān reached the Hitiyah Pul Gate (The Elephant Gate) he exclaimed, 'O God, I am flying to save my honour; I have no rebellious intentions.' (Maāsir-ul-Umarā, Vol. I, p. 725.)

Khān, and a host of other officers to pursue the rebels. Of these men, Saÿyid Muzaffar Khān, Rājā Vithaldās, Khavās Khān, Khidmat Parast Khān, and Prithivīrāj Rāthor, without caring either for the odd hour of the night or for their scanty numbers, marched rapidly forth in the small hours of the morning and overtook Khān Jahān and his followers near Dholpūr.

Overtaken.

The rebels finding the waters of the Chambal in front and the avenging sword behind, took up their position among surrounding creeks and undulations, and waited for the attack of the Imperialists. The conflict which followed was short but deadly. The Imperialists fought with all the ardour of their loyalty, and the brave Afghāns resisted them with all their might. During the fight on one occasion Prithvīrāj Rāthor and Khān Jahān opposed each other. Khān Jahān was mounted but Prithvīrāj was on foot, his horse having been killed. Nevertheless they fiercely charged each other, and both of them were seriously wounded. Such individual combats between the Imperialists and the rebels occurred at many points. The Imperialists lost about hundred men including Khidmat Parast Khān, Mīr Ātish, Khavās Khān Bhattī, Marhamat Khān and Muhammad Shafī', the grandson of Sayyid Muzaffar. Rājā Vithaldās, Prithvīrāj Rāthor, and Sayyid Muzaffar were seriously wounded. The rebels lost about sixty men. Of these 'Azmat and Husain were two sons of Khān Jahān, and Shams Khān his son-in-law. This was enough to break his courage, and he fled from the field.

The Imperialists stop at Dholpūr.

The Imperialists could not continue the pursuit because their leading officers had been wounded, so they stopped at Dholpūr, to give rest to the sick and suffering. Shortly after, Mu'tamid Khān, Ani Rāy, Jai Singh, Khān Zamān arrived there, one after the other in quick succession. They wanted to take up the pursuit of the rebels, but the Chambal was in flood, and it was difficult to cross it. In the afternoon Khvāja Abul Hasan also arrived with the rest of the army. As the rapidity of the march had

tired everyone, it was decided to take some rest before starting again. The wounded were sent back to Agra, where Shāhjahān generously rewarded them with gifts and promotions.

Khān Jahān after his defeat contrived to cross the Chambal. He had a large family, and it was impracticable to take all of them with him. So he abandoned his entire camp and treasure, and most of his women. With his two sons and five other Afghāns, he waded through the river on elephants. The halt of the Imperialists at Dholpūr gave him time to escape. He entered Bundelkhand, and with the assistance of Vikramājīt crossed over to Gondwāna by some unfrequented roads. In Gondwāna he took a little rest, and then passing through Berār, entered the kingdom of Ahmadnagar, where he expected to find a refuge.

Khān Jahān escapes to the Deccan.

When Khvāja Abul Hasan, after two days' rest, crossed the Chambal to renew the pursuit of the rebels, he could not find any trace of them. He therefore took the Gwālior-Antrī road in the hope of overtaking them at some point. Though he moved with great expedition, he failed to catch even a glimpse of the enemy. In the absence of any information from Vikramājīt, he left Bundelkhand on the right, passed on to Chanderī and then to Udaypūr. At last he stopped at Salwāna to wait for further instructions from court.[20]

His pursuit resumed.

When Khān Jahān arrived in the Nizāmshāhī country he was joined by Sikandar Dotānī, the *jāgīrdār* of Jālnāpūr, and Bahlol Miyāna, the *jāgīrdār* of Bālāpūr. They proceeded towards Daulatābād, and when they reached the precincts of the town, Murtazā II, who was then staying in a camp outside the fort, came to welcome his old friend. He led Khān Jahān into his camp and seated him in the centre of the *masnad*, himself retiring to a corner. In further proof of his good intentions he

Khān Jahān joined by his friends.

[20] Qazvīnī, ff. 180—83 b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 276—80.

assigned to Khān Jahān the *pargana* of Bīḍ, and advanced him money for his expenses. Nor did he leave his followers unprovided; he treated them well and gave them *jāgīrs.*[21]

In fact the arrival of Khān Jahān inspired Murtazā II with new hopes. He thought that with his assistance he would be able to recover the rest of his country which was still in the hands of the Moghuls. Among the Imperial officers in the Deccan, there were many friends or former servants of Khān Jahān, and the Nizāmshāh expected that they would surrender the country at a mere hint from Khān Jahān. In some cases this actually happened. To further his efforts, Murtazā II opened the offensive against the Moghuls in a peculiar way.

Murtazā's hopes.

He assigned to his followers the territories in the Moghul possession, and asked them to recover them and enjoy their revenues. Thus Murtaza II provided an impetus to his men for independent exertions. Precarious as their hold was in the Deccan, the position of the Imperialists now became more alarming than ever. Their outposts were scattered and their resources scanty; and for the time being they were unable to cope with the Deccanīs. Thus Murtazā II gained the upper hand, and drove out the foreigners from his kingdom. He did not know that his success was a mere interlude, and that he was embarking upon a perilous adventure. He provided an excuse, if one was needed at all, to the Moghul Emperor to commence his imperialistic policy in the Deccan; and at the moment justice was on the latter's side.

Moghul losses in the Deccan.

Shāhjahān did not lose a moment in grasping the critical situation in the Deccan, and he decided to take prompt and effective steps. The Deccan campaigns undertaken during the reign of his father and grandfather, and their failure, showed him how futile it was to entrust the work to a group of officers

Shāhjahān's plans.

21 Maāsir-ul-Umarā, Vol. I, p. 726.

however efficient and zealous every one of them might be. He could not afford to see this campaign, the first of his reign, drag on for a long time. So to guard against all risks of failure, and secure a united action on the part of his officers he decided to go personally to supervise the operations, as he had done when he was a prince. Accordingly, he left Agra on December 3, 1629. He entered Mālwa, and without stopping at Māndū, he pushed on straight to the Narbada, which he crossed at Akbarpūr. On the frontier of Khāndesh he reviewed his entire army, on February 12, 1630, and next day Irādat Khān, the governor of the Deccan, welcomed him in his province.

Operations in the Deccan.

The Emperor opened the campaign immediately, after his arrival in the Deccan, and flooded Bālāghāt with his multitudinous army. Three large contingents under the general command of Irādat Khān, now given the title of A'zam Khān, pressed on the centre of the Nizāmshāhī country, with the twofold object of recovering the lost territories and crushing Khān Jahān, who was stationed at Bīḍ. The operations in Bālāghāt continued till the beginning of the rainy season, when they had to be suspended. On one occasion in June 1630, there occurred a contested battle between the Imperialists and the Deccanīs, in which the latter were ultimately beaten and put to flight. But in the flush of victory the Imperialists got disorganised, and a party was separated from the main army. Khān Jahān with his 12,000 men attacked the stragglers and inflicted terrible loss of life amongst their ranks.[22]

[22] Qazvīnī, f. 192; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 304-305; Maāsir-ul-Umarā gives an interesting story about the half-heartedness of Khān Jahān. It says that on the day of battle Khān Jahān was complacently sitting in a palanquin and smoking. Upon this his son 'Azīz said to him: "If you want to fight, get on a horse and fight; otherwise why should you be the cause of the destruction of so many lives?" Khān Jahān replied. "Do you think we can succeed against the Imperialists? God is on their side. I want to create a peaceful atmosphere by my attitude, so

During the rainy season the rival parties retired to their respective outposts. A'zam Khān and his men moved to Devalgānv ; and Khān Jahān took shelter near Bīḍ. The plan of the Deccanīs was to unite, after the rains, at a central point, and then fight with the Moghuls. A'zam Khān decided to checkmate their scheme, and prevent their junction. He set out from Devalgānv to attack Khān Jahān who, he heard, was staying at Rājaurī with a scanty following, and was distributing the booty which he had obtained by sacking some neighbouring villages.[23]

As A'zam Khān wanted to surprise the rebels, he asked Saf-shikan Khān, the commander of Pāthrī, to come out of the fort and keep Khān Jahān engaged, lest he should take to flight on the approach of the Imperialists. The plan succeeded admirably ; for while Saf-shikan Khān was fighting with the rebels, A'zam Khān appeared on their rear. In his nervousness Khān Jahān abandoned his camp, and attempted to ascend the neighbouring hill and to fly across it. The Imperialists were disorganised for a moment, because the soldiers began to plunder the deserted camp. But daring officers such as Bahādur Khān Rohilla, Ehtimām Khān and Narhar Dās Jhālā, in spite of their scanty following, quickly gained the top of the hill and began to pursue the rebels. The latter turned round and stopped to fight with the Imperialists. For some time the battle raged furiously among the rugged hills of Bīḍ, and the Moghuls very narrowly escaped defeat by the timely arrival of reinforcements. But Narhar Dās Jhālā died fighting, and Bahādur Khān Rohilla was wounded twice. Khān Jahān and his men fled towards Shivgānv under a shower of flying missiles. During the pursuit, which continued for about two miles, Rājā

that you may get a chance to rise and I may go to Mecca." (Maāsir-ul-Umarā, Vol. I, pp. 726-27.)

23 Qazvīnī, f. 200; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 321.

Pahāḍ Singh killed Bahādur Khān, a trusted follower of Khān Jahān.[24]

After driving the rebels from Bīḍ, A'zam Khān returned to Machhlīgānv, being suspicious of the loyalty of some of the Deccanī *amīrs* in his train.[25] Khān Jahān reached Shivgānv where he was joined by Dariyā Khān. Being still afraid of pursuit, he pushed on to Daulatābād, whence Dariyā Khān marched to Pāyīnghāt; and after successfully sacking Chālīsgānv and Dharangānv, he returned to Bālāghāt.

Murtazā's coldness to his guest.

On the one hand, the Imperialists were devastating the Nizāmshāhī country on all sides; on the other a severe famine raged round Daulatābād, which added terribly to the misery of the people.[26] Murtazā II now regretted having brought all this trouble on his head by taking up a fruitless cause. Moreover, Khān Jahān fell short of his expectations. He showed a regrettable half-heartedness and indecision in his undertakings. Murtazā II did not like this and changed his attitude towards his guest. He was no longer so friendly towards Khān Jahān, and even hinted to him that he should not stay in his country any longer.

Khān Jahān leaves the Deccan.

Accordingly, Khān Jahān left Daulatābād with Dariyā Khān and his surviving sons. He marched to Mālwa with the intention of going to the Panjāb to raise trouble there in concert with his fellow-tribesmen, the Afghāns. The Emperor had already sent 'Abdullah Khān to intercept him in Pāyīnghāt. Khān Jahān, however, escaped the vigilant eyes of the Moghul commander, and crossed the Narbada at Dharampurī. Shāhjahān now sent Sayyid Muzaffar to the assistance of 'Abdullah Khān.[27] He crossed the Narbada at Akbarpūr and reached

24 Qazvīnī, ff. 200 b—202 b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 322—26.

25 Qazvīnī, f. 202 b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 326.

26 Qazvīnī, f. 207; Lāhaurī, pp. 234-35.

27 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 236; Qazvīnī, f. 207 b.

Dīpālpūr, where he learnt of the atrocious murder of the *muftī* of Ujjain, by the followers of Khān Jahān. From Dīpālpūr Sayyid Muzaffar marched to Tālgānv where he was joined by 'Abdullah Khān. The two proceeded to Khiljīpūr, and thence to Sironj where they learnt that the rebels were two days ahead of them.

Pursued.

From Sironj Khān Jahān turned to the right and entered Bundelkhand. But Vikramājīt was not now so friendly to him as before. He prudently realised the consequences of any failure on his part to deal with the rebels. On January 11, 1631, he attacked the rear of Khān Jahān, which was led by Dariyā Khān. During the fight the latter was mortally wounded, and the Bundelas, mistaking him for Khān Jahān, crowded round him, decapitated him and sent his head to court. Thus Khān Jahān was allowed to escape; and he fled to North-East and entered Nīmī in Bāndhū.[28]

Khan Jahān fights the Imperialists.

But the Imperialists gave him a hot chase, and Sayyid Muzaffar surprised Khān Jahān, when he was just resting after a long and tiresome journey. In utter desperation Khān Jahān donned his armour, and with his five or six hundred men opposed the Sayyid. During the fight his son Mahmūd and Sadr Rohilla, one of his confidential advisers, lost their lives. Khān Jahān abandoned his elephants and fled towards Kālinjar, where the commander Sayyid Ahmad, blocked his way. Sayyid Ahmad seized twenty-two elephants from Khān Jahān and captured his son Hasan, whom he put to death by order of the Emperor.

His last struggle and death.

Khān Jahān now reached the river Seendh in utter misery and disappointment. Here some of his followers deserted him; and shortly after Sayyid Muzaffar and Mādho Singh appeared with their men. Preferring death on the field to death on the scaffold

[28] Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 238-39; Qazvīnī, ff. 208-209 b.

Khān Jahān like a brave Afghān charged the Imperialists. He soon lost his horse, but he continued to fight on foot. He attacked the mace-bearers of Mādho Singh, but was overpowered by the Rājpūts. Mādho Singh wounded him with his dagger and his followers soon cut him to pieces. Shortly after 'Abdullah Khān also arrived on the scene, and sent Khān Jahān's head to court. The bearer Khvāja Kāmgār received the title of Ghairat Khān.[29]

Remarks.

Thus the rebellion of Khān Jahān was stamped out within about sixteen months. That he was at fault cannot be gainsaid. He had morbid notions of his own importance, which were exaggerated on account of the ultra-favourable treatment which Jahāngīr accorded to him. He made a mistake in flying to the Deccan for safety. He could have gone to the Panjāb instead, and might have succeeded better there with the help of the Afghāns. In case of failure he could have even escaped for refuge to Persia. Throughout his rebellion he never made a determined stand, and alienated the sympathy of his followers, and ultimately of Murtazā II. Thus his miscalculated action not only brought ruin on himself, but accelerated the downfall of the declining, almost moribund, kingdom of Ahmadnagar.

Jahāngīr's favours to Bīr Singh.

The second rebellion, which was led by Jujhār Singh, resembles in many respects that of Khān Jahān ; and some of the causes were common to both. Jujhār Singh's father, Bīr Singh Dev,[30] was, like Khān Jahān, a great friend of Jahāngīr, who by his attitude and behaviour led him to believe that he was beholden to him for his signal services. Bīr Singh stood in such high favour at the Moghul court, that none dared

[29] Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 248—52; Qazvīnī, ff. 216 b—217 b.

[30] Maāsir-ul-Umarā, Vol. II, pp. 197—99; For the history of his ancestors see the account of Shaykh Jalāl Hisārī, ff. 137—39 b; and Chhatra Prakāsh.

to complain against his excesses, or bring them to the Emperor's notice. In course of time by an ordinary psychological process these privileges, which originated from the pleasure of the sovereign and could equally have been withdrawn without any reason, came to be regarded by the recipient as so many rights. In other words, unbounded favouritism was the first mistake which Jahāngīr committed in the case of Bīr Singh; and the second and more serious was that of granting him a permanent *jāgīr* in his own native land.

Jujhār Singh and his son.

Bīr Singh died in 1627, and was succeeded by his eldest son Jujhār Singh. When the latter went to Agra to offer his felicitations to the new Emperor, he left the administration of Bundelkhand in the hands of his son Vikramājīt. Besides being young and turbulent, Vikramājīt was also haughty and cruel. He soon fell out with the old officers of the state, inflicted uncalled for punishments on some and imprisoned others. Among the latter was Kripā Rām Gauḍ, the *vakīl* and principal adviser of Bīr Singh Dev. Vikramājīt confined him in the fort of Orchha and began to torture him. Kripā Rām managed to bribe the guards, and escaped from the prison. He fled to the Deccan, and was pursued by Vikramājīt up to Dhāmūnī. Kripā Rām, however, reached Burhānpūr, whence he repaired to court, and entered the Imperial service.[31]

Jujhār Singh at Agra and his flight.

Jujhār Singh arrived at Agra on April 10, 1628, and presented to the Emperor one thousand rupees and one elephant. He was confirmed in the rank of 4,000 *zāt* and 4,000 *suwār*, and the Emperor bestowed on him a dagger set in with precious stones, standards and drums. His reception at court was thus very satisfactory.[32] But shortly after, Shāhjahān ordered

31 Shaykh Jalāl Hisārī, f. 139 b.

32 Qazvīnī, f. 152; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 196.

an enquiry into the unauthorised gains of his father.[33] Jujhār Singh considered it highly improbable that he could satisfy the Emperor, and getting alarmed at the prospects of open disgrace, he secretly fled from Agra on June 11. His pursuit was, however, postponed[34] for the time being because of the invasion of Kabul by Nazr Muhammad. But when that trouble was over, Shāhjahān turned his attention to Jujhār Singh.

A large army consisting of 10,000 horsemen, 2,000 musketeers, and 500 sappers was despatched from Agra under

Mahābat Khān sent vs. Jujhār Singh.

the general command of Mahābat Khān. To moderate his impetuosity the Emperor associated with him Islām Khān. Moreover, orders were issued to Khān Jahān to march from Mālwa towards Orchha with his 8,000 troops. He was asked to take with him Rājā Bhārat Bundela the rival claimant to the Bundela *gaddī*.[35] A third army under the command of 'Abdullah Khān and Bahādur Khān Rohilla was ordered to converge on Orchha from the east.[36]

To ensure unity of action, and to expedite the operations, Shāhjahān left Agra in October 1628. Moving leisurely on

Shāhjahān's moves to Gwālior.

the way and stopping to hunt at places, especially at Bārī, he arrived at Gwālior on January 3, 1629. Meanwhile, Mahābat Khān, who was marching ahead of the Emperor, passed Gwālior and entered Bundelkhand. He arrived within 32 miles west of Orchha, while Khān Jahān arrived much nearer

33 Qazvīnī, f. 168 b; Lāhaurī assigns no reason for his sudden flight (Vol. I, p. 203); Shaykh Jalāl agrees with Qazvīnī, (f. 140); Maāsir-ul-Umarā, Vol. II, p. 215.

34 Both Qazvīnī and Lāhaurī explain the postponement of Jujhār's pursuit by saying that the Emperor left it in the hands of God. (Qazvīnī, f. 168 b; Lāhaurī, pp. 203-204.)

35 Maāsir-ul-Umarā, Vol. II, pp. 212—14; Qazvīnī, f. 169.

36 Qazvīnī, f. 169; Lāhaurī does not say that Islam Khān was appointed to moderate the impetuosity of Mahābat Khān (Vol. I, p. 24); Shaykh Jalāl, f. 140.

from the south and began to devastate the surrounding country. 'Abdullah Khān crossed the eastern frontier of Bundelkhand, and closely invested the fort of Iraj. With Bāqar Khān and some others he attacked the fort on the east, and Bahādur Khān Rohilla attacked it from the north. Rājā Pahāḍ Singh[37] levelled the outer wall by driving his elephant against it, whereas Bahādur Khān effected an entrance through the main gate. The garrison fought bravely and 3,000 Hindūs were slain.

Submission of Jujhār Singh.

The capture of Iraj and the singlemindedness of the royal commanders frightened Jujhār Singh.[38] Moreover, about this time there had arisen some dissatisfaction against him among his own subjects, owing to his having his brother Hardev Singh poisoned on the mere suspicion of an undue intimacy with his wife.[39] In these circumstances any attempt on his part to resist the invaders would have been futile. He gave way and approached Mahābat Khān[40] to intercede on his behalf. The Emperor passed over the offences of Jujhār Singh.

Presented to Shāhjahān and forgiven.

Upon the successful termination of these transactions Shāhjahān left Gwālior on February 7, 1629, and a week later arrived at Agra. Here Mahābat Khān presented the rebel Jujhār Singh, who gave to the Emperor one and a half million of rupees as indemnity and forty elephants as *peshkash*. In return Shāhjahān restored to him his original rank, but confiscated some of his *jāgīrs*, which were distributed among Khān Jahān, 'Abdullah Khān, Rashīd Khān, Sayyid Muzaffar

37 Maāsir-ul-Umarā, Vol. II, pp. 256—60.

38 Qazvīnī, f. 172; Lāhaurī places the opening of negotiations before the fall of Iraj (Vol. I, p. 246); Shaykh Jalāl Hisārī's account of this incident is very meagre (f. 140).

39 Chhatra Prakāsh, Introduction, pp. 9-10. Shyām Sundar Dās has unfortunately mixed up the two invasions of Bundelkhand.

40 Qazvīnī does not particularly mention the name of Mahābat Khān (f. 172); but Lāhaurī mentions it definitely (Vol. I, p. 246). Shaykh Jalāl is in agreement with Lāhaurī (f. 140).

Khān and Pahāḍ Singh. Jujhār Singh was required to be present in the Deccan with 2,000 horsemen and 2,000 infantry.[41]

During the campaign against Khān Jahān, Jujhār Singh served under the command of A'zam Khān, and fought valiantly under the Moghul flag. In recognition of his merits he was in January 1630 promoted to 5,000 *zāt* and 5,000 *suwār*, and in May of the same year both he and his brother Pahāḍ Singh were dignified with the title of Rājā.[42] A'zam Khān was so impressed with his tact and courage that he often summoned Jujhār Singh to the council meeting and gave due consideration to his suggestions. During the siege of Dhārūr his followers twice raided the Deccanī outposts, and seized many elephants, horses, mules, and bullocks, and upon the surrender of that fort he was fitly rewarded for his services. When A'zam Khān was superseded by Āsaf Khān, Jujhār Singh was ordered to join him.[43] He remained in the Deccan till 1634, and participated in the siege and reduction of Daulatābād by Mahābat Khān. After that, with the permission of Mahābat Khān, leaving his son Jagrāj as his substitute in the Deccan, he returned to his own country.[44]

His record in the Deccan.

After his arrival at Orchha he started ambitious activities, and devoted his attention to the extension of his state. He had already lost some territory after his first outbreak, and this was the proper time to make amends for it. The Emperor was away from Agra, and the Deccan was not yet quiet. Accordingly he led an unprovoked attack against Rājā Prem Nārāyan, and besieged him in his stronghold of Chaurāgadh. The Rājā in distress attempted to come to terms with the invader, but Jujhār Singh declined all such overtures. Upon this Prem Nārāyan sent a messenger to Shāhjahān to solicit his help

His return to Orchha and his excesses.

[41] Qazvīnī, f. 173; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 254-55.
[42] Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 296 and 303.
[43] Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 405.
[44] Qazvīnī, f. 343; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 95; Shaykh Jalāl, f. 140.

against the aggression. The latter only despatched a man to persuade Jujhār Singh to raise the siege, but he discarded the suggestion with contempt. Unable to resist any longer, Prem Nārāyan capitulated on terms. But when he came out of the fort, the Bundelas disregarding their plighted word surrounded the unwary Rājā, who in a fit of desperation killed his women and died fighting along with his two or three hundred brave followers. The fort of Chaurāgadh was occupied by Jujhār Singh.

Meanwhile the son of Rājā Prem Nārāyan joined Khān Daurān in Mālwa, whence he proceeded to court to complain to the Emperor of the unprovoked aggression of Jujhār Singh and the violent death of his father at the latter's hands. Shāhjahān had now reason to be angry with Jujhār Singh. He had attacked without the royal sanction a fellow-tributary-chieftain, and, worse than that, he had slighted the Imperial orders. Moreover, it was impolitic to leave unpunished a powerful *rājā* on the edge of the Deccan road. But before finally deciding to attack him, Shāhjahān offered certain terms to Jujhār Singh, compliance with which would obtain pardon for him.

Complaints against him.

Kavi Rāy's mission.

The Emperor despatched to Orchha Sundar Kavi Rāy with a letter to Jujhār Singh. It read as follows:

"It was improper for you to attack Prem Nārāyan without our sanction, but worse than that was that you played false to your plighted word. Now what is done cannot be undone; and the only way to expiate your offences is to surrender the territories which you have forcibly occupied. You are also to send to court one million rupees from the treasure of Prem Nārāyan, which has fallen into your hands. But if you want to retain those lands, you must cede an equivalent thereof from your own country."[45]

45 Qazvīnī, f. 343; Tabātabāī, f. 136 b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 95; Shaykh Jalāl, f. 141.

This letter lays bare the sordid intentions of Shāhjahān. Instead of defending the claims of a weaker party, his own tributary, the Emperor wanted to appropriate all the advantages obtained by Jujhār Singh by his own efforts. Jujhār Singh had outraged the Imperial dignity, and had broken the traditional rules of conduct. But money could secure forgiveness for everything; it could sanctify even his darkest deeds. The Emperor says not a word about recompense to the heirs of Prem Nārāyan. He wants only money for himself. In other words, he wished like a robber to share the spoils of a brother robber, and not like a King to defend his own subject. The fact is that he coveted Jujhār Singh's illgotten gains, and wanted a pretext to deprive him of them.

Criticism of Shāhjahān's attitude.

There was only one reply to the above demands; and Jujhār Singh refused to comply with them. If he was to part with all of his monetary and territorial gains, which he had obtained after a sustained effort of eight months, what was the use of his having taken so much trouble? So he dismissed the royal messenger very unceremoniously, and sent word to his son Jagrāj[46] to escape secretly from the Deccan and join him. Accordingly Jagrāj fled from Daulatābād on the pretext of hunting. Khān Zamān, the governor of Bālāghāt did not pursue him; but Khān Daurān who was in charge of Pāyīnghāt, proved more vigilant. He gave a hot chase to the fugitive and overtook and defeated him at Ashthā in Mālwa; and but for the negligence of Allāh Vardī Khān, who did not cooperate with Khān Daurān, Jagrāj would have been captured.[47] He escaped and safely reached Dhāmūnī.

Jujhār refuses to comply.

46 Vikrmājīt obtained the title of Jagrāj in recognition of his services in the pursuit of Khān Jahān; Qazvīnī, f. 209; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 339.

47 Tabātabāī says that Allāh Vardī Khān who was on his (Jagrāj's) way did pursue him (f. 137); but Qazvīnī, Lāhaurī and Shaykh Jalāl hold the view noted above.

The rejection of the terms offered to him, together with the flight of Jagrāj from the Deccan, provided to Shāhjahān the necessary justification for stringent measures against Jujhār Singh. A large army of 20,000 men commanded by three eminent generals of the Empire was ordered to enter Bundelkhand and extirpate the rebels. Khān Daurān at the head of 6,000 troops was directed to go by way of Chanderī to Bichhor, and pass the rains there. He was to be accompanied by Debī Singh,[48] a rival claimant to the Bundela *gaddī*, who was given the title of Rājā and the rank of 3,000 *zāt* and 3,000 *suwār*. 'Abdullah Khān was ordered to capture Iraj and stop at Bhānḍīr ; and Sayyid Khān Jahān was ordered to pass the rains at Badāyūn. At the end of the rains the three commanders were to deliver a concerted attack on Orchha.

Preparations to subdue him.

These extensive military preparations struck terror into the heart of Jujhār Singh ; and he approached Āsaf Khān and requested him to intercede with the Emperor on his behalf. Shāhjahān consented to send Sundar Kavi Rāy again to Orchha ; but this time he pitched his demands higher. Jujhār Singh was asked to pay an indemnity of three millions of rupees, to surrender the *sarkār* of Biyānwān,[49] in lieu of Chaurāgadh ; to send Jagrāj to the Deccan to serve under Khān Zamān, and finally to send his grandson to court, where he was to remain as a hostage for his good conduct. The commanders were ordered to stay the proposed operations till the return of the messenger.[50]

Jujhār's attempt to come to terms.

48 He was the son of Rājā Bhārat Bundela who died in 1633-34; hence the title of succession to chiefship devolved on Debī Singh. (Maāsir-ul-Umarā, Vol. II, pp. 295—97.)

49 Jarret, Vol. II, p. 188.

50 Qazvīnī, f. 344 b; Tabātabāī, f. 137 b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 96.

The new terms were no more acceptable to Jujhār Singh than the previous ones. But perhaps his expression of fear was only feigned, and he was not sincere in opening negotiations. It was a trick to gain time to complete his preparations. This is why Jujhār Singh treated Sundar Kavi Rāy again, with scant courtesy and dismissed him even without giving a hearing to the new proposals.[51] It was not because he was unable to comply with the royal demands, he had plenty of money, but he was simply unwilling to part with it. Like so many other rebels, he miscalculated the strength of the sovereign power, and Shāhjahān's determination to use it effectively against his enemies.

When Jujhār Singh's offensive behaviour was reported to the Emperor, he ordered his officers to open the campaign in accordance with the plan which had been laid down. To prevent dissensions among the three generals, who were practically of equal rank,[52] Shāhjahān appointed Prince Aurangzīb to the supreme command, with Shāyista Khān as his guardian and adviser. The prince's *mansab* was fixed at 15,000 *zāt* and 5,000 *suwār*, and the royal officers were ordered to submit their proposals and secure his approval before putting them into effect.

Campaign opened.

It has been suggested that Prince Aurangzīb was placed in this position of responsibility with a view to his intended appointment as Viceroy of the Deccan. No doubt there was a tradition in the Moghul house to put the princes in touch with actual administration as early as possible, but Aurangzīb's post on this occasion was more nominal than real. His case cannot be compared to Shāhjahān's assuming command against the Rānā or in the Deccan. On either occasion Shāhjahān's voice was more effective, and the initiative during the campaigns rested with him. But in the Bundela campaign no such part was

Aurangzīb's part.

51 Qazvīnī, f. 348 b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 98-99.

52 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 99.

played by Aurangzīb, and if he gained any experience it was that of an onlooker. He had nothing to do with the practical side of it.

Jujhār Singh hunted down like a beast.

Soon Jujhār Singh's strongholds were seized by the Imperialists, but this did not satisfy the Emperor. He was out for the blood of Jujhār Singh. The only punishment which a rebel of that type deserved was death. Hence, flushed with their recent successes, the Imperial commanders marched towards Chaurāgadh. Jujhār Singh's spirits were now completely broken and he could not muster courage enough to stop at Chaurāgadh and make a bold stand there. Upon the approach of the Imperialists, he destroyed his guns, demolished the buildings, and fled to Shāhpūr and thence towards the Deccan by way of Lānjī. When the Imperialists heard this, they quickened their pace and reached Chaurāgadh. Khān Daurān entered the fort, mounted the top of the main temple in it, read the *azān* and recited prayers in the name of Shāhjahān. Leaving Ahdād Khān and others in charge of the fort, he returned to join 'Abdullah Khān to resume the pursuit of Jujhār Singh.

Overtaken and killed.

At Shāhpūr Rāghū Chowdharī furnished intelligence to Khān Daurān regarding the movements of the rebels, and he and 'Abdullah Khān hastened to overtake them. Prince Aurangzīb followed them at a leisurely pace guarding the rear, and receiving regular reports from the officers, which he forwarded to court. Shāhjahān ordered the prince to return to Dhāmūnī, but Khān Daurān and 'Abdullah Khān followed the rebels to Chānda and very nearly overtook them. Khān Daurān proposed to fall on them in the dead of night, but 'Abdullah Khān stopped him. Jujhār Singh got timely information and escaped towards Golconda ; but he was soon overtaken by Khān Daurān. In great desperation the Bundelas mortally wounded Pārbatī, the Chief Rānī of Bīr Singh Dev, and disfigured their women to save them from the disgrace of the Moghul *harim*. But Durg

Bhān, son of Jujhār Singh, and Durjansāl his grandson were captured alive. Jujhār Singh and Jagrāj, however, escaped to the neighbouring forests where they were killed by Gonds. Their dead bodies were found by Khān Daurān, who cut off their heads and sent them to court.[53]

Meanwhile the Emperor ordered Sayyid Khān Jahān to unearth the treasures which Jujhār Singh had left behind buried in forests and wells. Ishaq Beg Yezdī, Bāqī Beg Qalmāq, and Makramat Khān were deputed to assist Khān Jahān. Guided by the indications given by local inhabitants, they scoured the country between Dhāmūnī and Datiya, and in a very short time unearthed two million eight hundred thousand rupees of treasure. In all about ten million rupees were credited to the royal exchequer. What could not be traced by the royal officers was found and seized either by local inhabitants or by soldiers and *ahadīs*.

Moghul gains.

Thus the most flourishing branch of the Bundela dynasty, which was patronised by Jahāngīr, met a tragic fate at the hands of his son, Shāhjahān. That Jujhār Singh as a rebel deserved severe chastisement cannot be gainsaid, but there appears little justification for the forcible conversion of his sons who were captured alive, the enslavement of his women to lead an infamous life within the palace or in the houses of the nobles, and finally, for the systematic demolition and desecration of temples. It is, however, certain that these measures were not taken on the initiative of Prince Aurangzīb. He was much too young to shape a policy of this nature.

Shāhjahān's religious intolerance.

The fact of the matter is that it was Shāhjahān who encouraged his Musalmān officers to indulge their religious frenzy, and it was he who ordered the demolition of the

[53] Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 110—16; Qazvīnī, f. 353 b and ff. 357—59 b; Shaykh Jalāl's account is detailed only up to the capture of Dhāmūnī, because after it his patron Sayyid Khān Jahān was appointed to unearth the treasures of Jujhār Singh which lay concealed in the forest and wells. But the writer in a few words describes the fall of Jujhār Singh.

magnificent temple of Orchha. That he was able to reverse so far the conciliatory policy of his grandfather was due to the fact that he expected little opposition. The Hindū officers in his employ, though some of them were not lacking in courage, were smaller in number, lower in rank, and hopelessly degenerate in character. Rājā Jai Singh, Rājā Jagat Singh, Vithaldās Gauḍ, Narhardās Jhālā, Kishan Singh Bhadauriya and many others like them, held power and position dearer than the honour and sacredness of their religion. But the worst of them all was Rājā Debī Singh, who without any compunction or shame witnessed and even participated in these activities. He hankered after the Bundela *gaddī* ; and he obtained it, albeit tarnished by the blood of his own relatives, and contaminated by the dishonour of his religion. He succeeded to the rule of Bundelkhand but not to the respect enjoyed by Bīr Singh Dev or Jujhār Singh.

It did not take long to subjugate the remaining forts of Bundelkhand. Datiya was soon occupied. But at Jhānsī, one Basant, a follower of Jujhār Singh, offered some resistance. But Makramat Khān invested the fort closely and compelled the garrison to capitulate. There the victors obtained a rich booty. The entire artillery together with the powder magazine, a granary full of corn, and much treasure fell into their hands. The fort was handed over to Girdhar, son of Vithaldās, in recognition of the services of his father.

Shāhjahān's visit to Bundelkhand.

In his letters to his father, Prince Aurangzīb wrote eloquently about the picturesque scenery of Bundelkhand, its forests full of wild game, its large artificial lakes, and its green hills. Shāhjahān's curiosity was awakened, and though he was bound for the Deccan, from Gwālior he turned east and entered Bundelkhand. The delightful waterfall of Bhūmgadh and the beautiful buildings of Datiya afforded him real pleasure. At Orchha he stayed in the magnificent palace of Bīr Singh Dev, and visited Bīr Sāgar, where he shot waterfowl. Near Dhāmūnī Prince Aurangzīb welcomed his father, and from

this place the two went to Sironj to resume their journey to the Deccan.[54]

Champat Rāy's activities.

The history of the Bundelas after the fall of Jujhār Singh loses its continuity, but the tragic fate of their ruler and the enormities perpetrated by the conquerors bred a spirit of opposition among the inhabitants of Bundelkhand. Very soon a capable and energetic leader attracted them to his banner and declared war upon the Moghuls. This was Champat Rāy, a descendant of Udayjīt, ruler of Mahobā, whose dynasty had fallen into a shade before the dazzling glory of the house of Orchha. Champat Rāy was a friend of Bīr Singh, and helped Jujhār Singh during his rebellion. Soon after the latter's suppression he adopted Prithvīrāj, a young son of Jujhār Singh whom the Imperialists had so far not been able to capture, as the rival candidate for the Bundela *gaddī*. With the assistance of his enthusiastic followers, Champat Rāy raided the *mahals* of Jhatra, now renamed Islāmābād. Bāqī Khān, the *faujdār* of that *sarkār*, did what he could to check the activities of Champat Rāy, but the guerilla tactics of the Bundelas foiled his schemes.[55]

'Abdullah Khān sent to subdue him.

When about the middle of January 1639, Shāhjahān left Agra for Lahore, Champat Rāy became more daring than ever. He raided the Moghul outposts with impunity and fearlessly intercepted the convoys of *sūbedārs*. His depredations extended to Sironj, Bhilsā and Dhāmūnī; and the consequent insecurity of the Deccan road at length compelled Shāhjahān to send 'Abdullah Khān to round up the rebels.[56] For more than a year 'Abdullah Khān tried to subdue Champat Rāy, but

[54] It was the composition of the account of the Bundela campaign which won Qazvīnī the Imperial favour (f. 10 and ff. 355-56 b).

[55] Chhatra Prakāsh, pp. 10-11. See the account of Bāqī Khān in Maāsir-ul-Umarā, Vol. I, pp. 427—29; Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 136.

[56] For the trouble created by the Bundelas see the letters of Sayyid Muzaffar Bārah Khān Jahān who was the gaoler of Gwālior (ff. 1—25); Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 136; Chhatra Prakāsh, p. 25.

his efforts were attended with little success. At last in April 1640 his spies reported that Champat Rāy and Prithvīrāj were in the forest between Orchha and Jhānsī. 'Abdullah Khān wanted to go personally to disperse the rebels, but Bāqī Khān persuaded him to entrust the command of the expedition to him. He successfully surprised the Bundelas, and captured Prithvīrāj who was ordered to be imprisoned in Gwālior. But the arch rebel Champat Rāy escaped, and the trouble in Bundelkhand continued.[57]

The tardy way in which 'Abdullah Khān had conducted the campaign dissatisfied Shāhjahān, and he recalled him.

Bahādur Khān's attempt.

Bahādur Khān Rohilla, a young and spirited officer, was appointed in his place. The new commander began his work with great zeal, and soon routed a party of the rebels. But his enemies at court misrepresented his activities to the Emperor, and warned him that if he were allowed to remain in Bundelkhand, he would turn it into another Rohilkhand.[58] The Emperor recalled him, and for the second time sent 'Abdullah Khān.[59] He, however, could do little to improve the situation, and Champat Rāy remained as elusive as ever, since the inhabitants of Bundelkhand supported him solidly.

The Emperor, therefore, ordered Pahāḍ Singh to extinguish the trouble in his native country. He was a son of Bīr Singh

Pahāḍ Singh's success.

Dev, and as such could claim the loyalty of his fellow-tribesmen, which would weaken the position of Champat Rāy. Moreover, he was well acquainted with the land of his birth, and could therefore fight the rebels with their own weapons. He arrived in Bundelkhand in May 1642, and within a month Champat Rāy submitted to him and entered his service, with the approval of the Emperor. For some time, it seems, Champat Rāy served Pahāḍ Singh

57 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, pp. 193-94.

58 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, pp. 221 and 247; Maāsir-ul-Umarā, Vol. I, p. 120.

59 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 247.

with devotion. But the latter soon grew jealous of his popularity, and so Champat Rāy left him and took service with Prince Dārā.[60]

In spite of his strained relations with Pahāḍ Singh, Champat Rāy tried to maintain an appearance of cordiality with him.

Champat Rāy leaves Dārā's service.

But Pahād Singh was unscrupulous, and on one occasion when Champat Rāy came to visit him, he unsuccessfully tried to poison him. Later, on another occasion, Pahād Singh contrived to smuggle some stolen property into the camp of Champat Rāy, accused him of theft and put him to shame. Champat Rāy complained to Prince Dārā, who, instead of investigating the matter, believed Pahāḍ Singh, and deprived him of his *jāgīr*.[61] This estranged him from the prince, and he revived his hostility to the Moghuls. He, however, took his full revenge on Dārā by showing to Aurangzīb a little known ford to cross the Chambal and by fighting on his side at Sāmugadh.[62]

But the reconciliation with Aurangzīb was only temporary. After his succession to the throne, the son of Champat Rāy, the famous Chhatrsāl, challenged the Imperial authority and created much trouble in Bundelkhand.

Rājā Bāsū,[63] the Zamīndār of Maū Nūrpūr, was a favourite of Jahāngīr. On his death he was succeeded by his son Sūraj

Zamīndārs of Nūrpūr.

Mal ; but the latter proved treacherous to the Imperial cause and was replaced by his brother Jagat Singh.[64] Jahāngīr promoted

60 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, pp. 303-304; Maāsir-ul-Umarā, Vol. II, pp. 257-58; Chhatra Prakāsh, pp. 30-31. The *pargana* of Koonch was assigned to Champat.

61 Chhatra Prakāsh, pp. 31-32.

62 Ibid., pp. 36-37.

63 Maāsir-ul-Umarā, Vol. II, pp. 157—60; R. B., Vol. I, p. 49; Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1904-05, pp. 110—20.

64 Maāsir-ul-Umarā, Vol. II, pp. 176—79 and pp. 238—41; R. B., Vol. II, pp. 54—57, and pp. 74-75.

Jagat Singh to the rank of 1,000 *zāt* and 500 *suwār* and deputed him to help Vikramājīt in the siege of Kāngḍa. He continued to serve the Imperial cause, with occasional manifestations of insubordination, it is true, but by the end of Jahāngīr's reign he had attained to the rank of 3,000 *zāt* and 2,000 *suwār*. When Shāhjahān ascended the throne, he confirmed Jagat Singh in his *mansab*[65]; and the latter came to pay his respects to the Emperor at Sarāy I'timād-ud-Dowlah on March 13, 1634.[66]

In November of the same year Jagat Singh was appointed *thānehdar* of the middle Bangash to punish the rebel Khataks.[67]

Jagat Singh's record of service.

He discharged his duties for three years to the satisfaction of his superiors, and was in January 1637 attached to the *sūbah* of Kabul where he helped the governor in repulsing and rounding up Karīmdād, son of Ahdād.[68] He came to court at Lahore in February 1639[69] and was next month appointed to take charge of the entire Bangash.[70] A year after, when the Emperor was going to Kashmir, Jagat Singh was ordered to clear the way.[71]

During his absence at court, the administration of the Nūrpūr state was carried on by Jagat Singh's son Rājrūp,

Rājrūp.

who also secured for himself the *faujdārī* of the Kāngḍa valley. He contracted to pay a heavy tribute to the Emperor, but owing to his prodigality he was unable to discharge his liability. On receipt of the

65 Jagat Singh fought for Shāhjahān in the battle with Shahriyār (Qazvīnī, f. 116); According to Lāhaurī he came with Āsaf Khān to Agra, and was confirmed in the rank of 3,000 *zāt* and 500 *suwār* and at the end of the tenth year was holding the rank of 3,000 *zāt* and 2,000 *suwār* (Vol. I, p. 183).

66 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 9; Qazvīnī, f. 307.

67 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 64; Qazvīnī, f. 334.

68 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 13.

69 He took part in the recovery of Qandahār and was attached to Sa'īd Khān (Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 135).

70 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 144.

71 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 190.

demand from the Imperial Exchequer, he began to show a refractory attitude, in which he was secretly encouraged by his father. The government officers in the Kāngḍa valley failed to deal with Rājrūp.

Jagat Singh returns to his home.

Upon this Jagat Singh, who feigned displeasure at the conduct of his son, solicited the command of the expedition against him. Without suspecting that he was insincere, or meditated treason, Shāhjahān permitted Jagat Singh to return home in August 1640, on his undertaking to pay an annual tribute of four hundred thousand rupees. During the next twelve months that Jagat Singh was in his native country, nothing untoward happened, and he implicitly obeyed the Imperial orders. But his conduct, it seems, did not satisfy Shāhjahān, who deprived him of the *faujdārī* of the Kāngḍa valley, and appointed in his place Khāna Zād Khān, son of Sa'īd Khān Zafar Jang.[72]

Charges against him.

There is no record of any specific charges against Jagat Singh; and the only assertion which is repeatedly to be met with among contemporary chronicles regarding the cause of his outbreak is that he had become overconfident of the security of his position. But this by itself is not a sufficient explanation. The universal tendency among the *zamīndārs* of India to defy the government authority, and their aversion to the payment of revenue, may be set down as one of the probable causes. But instances of an outbreak of this type without sufficient provocation of any nature or form are rare. On the other hand, it would be futile to suppose that Jagat Singh rebelled gratuitously. He was neither a fool nor a knave. His later record shows that he was brave, warlike, and not indiscreet. Why should he have gone out of his way to court trouble and destruction seems at first sight inexplicable?

72 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, pp. 237-38.

But various circumstances preceding his rebellion do account for his attitude. In the first place, he noticed a certain apathy on the part of the Emperor towards him. In spite of a record of meritorious service he had received no promotion, which made him sullen and dissatisfied. Secondly, it seems that the resources of his country were insufficient to meet the government demand. The *jāgīr* assigned to him was broken and rocky, and naturally its yield could not have been more, possibly less, than what was required to maintain internal peace and order. Thirdly, when after his arrival in his state he encroached upon the Rājā of Chambā, annexed a part of his territories, and built the fort of Tārāgadh, in it, the aggression and the strength it brought to Jagat Singh displeased the Emperor, who regarded the existence of a recalcitrant chief on the way to Kashmir as dangerous. And finally, his omission to take rigorous measures against his son Rājrūp proved to be the immediate cause for displeasure on the part of Shāhjahān, who superseded Jagat Singh in the *faujdārī* of Kāngḍa by another officer.

Refuses to explain his conduct.

His refusal to comply with the government summons to appear at court was the first sign of his rebellion. Shāhjahān sent Sundar Kavi Rāy to demand an explanation from Jagat Singh, and to obtain information about his future plans. The Kavi Rāy reported that, though Jagat Singh made an outward show of allegiance and obedience, he was meditating rebellion. Upon this Shāhjahān ordered three generals, Sayyid Khān Jahān, Sa'īd Khān Bahādur Zafar Jang, and Asālat Khān to enter the hilly region, attack the strongholds of the rebel, and extinguish the trouble. Prince Murād, who was returning from Kabul, was deputed to the supreme command.[73]

The campaign did not commence till the end of the rainy

[73] Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 239; Shaykh Jalāl, ff. 128b—130b.

season. When Prince Murād arrived at Paithan, he was joined by Sa'īd Khān Bahādur who had passed the rains at Bahrāmpur, and also by Asālat Khān, who now returned after realising the tribute from the *zamīndārs* of Jammū.[74]

The campaign.

The plan of operations as laid down by the Emperor was to besiege the forts of Maū and Nūrpūr simultaneously. Accordingly, Sa'īd Khān, Asālat Khān and Jai Singh were despatched to invest Maū, eight miles from Paithan, where Prince Murād encamped to supervise the maintenance of provisions for the army. Sa'īd Khān marched through the Hāḍā Valley, while Jai Singh and Asālat Khān crossed the Chakkī and took the Darrah route. Sa'īd Khān was the first to arrive at Maū, and he encamped on a level tract of land close to the garden of Rājā Bāsū, between the Darrah and Maū hills. Jai Singh and Asālat Khān arrived there soon afterwards. They were further reinforced by 'Abdullah Khān, Qulij Khān, Bahādur Khān, Allah Vardī Khān and Zafar Khān.

The fort of Maū lay among rugged hills covered with thick forest. The rifts in the enclosing range within the bosom of which stood the fort, were blocked by heavy masonry work, thus closing all approaches entirely. Leaving a contingent of troops to guard the camp, the Moghul commanders divided the rest of the army into several forces which were sent in different directions to batter down the artificial barriers. The enemy did everything to check their advance, and occasionally surprised unwary soldiers while they were collecting fuel and fodder in the neighbouring woods. Once during the siege Rājā Jai Singh, fired by his youthful enthusiasm, marched with only his Rājpūt followers to fight the enemy. But the latter opened a deadly fire and compelled him to retreat. This occasioned much depression among the Imperial troops and during the following three months hardly any progress could be made.

Siege of Maū.

74 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 261; Shaykh Jalāl, f. 130.

Upon the suggestion of some local *zamīndārs*, it was decided to press the siege of Maū with greater vigour. Accordingly, Najābat Khān, Nazar Bahādur Kheshgī, Akbar Qulī Sultān Khakkar and Rājā Mān Gwāliorī were withdrawn from the Nūrpūr army to reinforce the army at Maū. After their arrival, Sa'īd Khān left Maū on November 9, 1641, and marched towards Rāper to carry the hill commanding the back side of the fort. He sent his two sons, Sa'dullah and 'Abdullah, and Zulfiqār Khān with a contingent of troops to find some suitable spot on the top of the hill for encampment. But they found the hill covered with a thick undergrowth, and sent word to their father to stay where he was, till the place could be cleared. While they were busy with their work, the insurgents opened fire from a neighbouring hillock, and threw the Moghul contingent into confusion. Upon this Sa'īd Khān sent his other son, Lutfullah, to the assistance of Sa'dullah; but Lutfullah was defeated, wounded and repulsed. At length Zulfiqār Khān succeeded in driving away the enemy, and next day Sa'īd Khān reached Rāper, and marched onward. At every stage he threw out breastworks of thorns and bushes round his camp to prevent the night attacks of the rebels, and moved forward slowly but steadily, the enemy contesting every inch of the ground.

On November 15, Najābat Khān who led the advance guard of Sa'īd Khān's army, reached the eminence commanding the defence opposite the garden of Rājā Bāsū, where the enemy had posted a strong guard. But Zulfiqār Khān and his musketeers charged them from one side and Nazar Bahādur Kheshgī, Shaykh Farīd, and Rājā Mān from the other. The rebels, however, fought bravely and inflicted severe losses among the ranks of the invaders. The attempt to storm the defences proved abortive. The operations against Maū for the time being, were brought to a standstill; and Rājā Mān was detached to seize a neighbouring fort, which he did successfully.

In another centre of warfare, too, conditions were not very

hopeful. Sayyid Khān Jāhān was deputed to reduce the fort of Nūrpūr. The difficulties of gaining approach to it were by no means smaller than those of the Maū fort. Its northern and southern sides were well protected by rising hills, higher than that on the top of which stood the Nūrpūr fort. On its western side within a bowshot ran a boisterous and impassable stream ; and on the eastern side where stood the main gate, lay an undulating plain quite unsuitable for the encampment of an army. Moreover, the garrison was well provided with provisions and other sinews of war, and the enemy had demolished all buildings in the neighbourhood.

On his way towards Nūrpūr at Bilhwān, where Sayyid Khān Jahān arrived on September 28, 1641, he heard that Rājrūp with a strong posse of men was blockading his path. On October 15, he marched to fight with him. Najābat Khān, who led the vanguard put Rājrūp to flight, and another party battered down the masonry work which the enemy had improvised to check the Moghul advance. But this success did not bring Sayyid Khān Jahān any nearer to his goal ; the way to Nūrpūr was not yet open. Every post was well guarded by musketeers and archers. But Khān Jahān with the help of a native hillman took an unfrequented route and on November 9, arrived within a mile of Nūrpūr.

Here he learnt of the extensive preparations made by Jagat Singh to defend the fort, which was manned by 2,000 musketeers. Nevertheless the Sayyid opened the siege with ardour. He threw out entrenchments and after great difficulty succeeded in approaching the fortifications, which he tried to blow up by mines. But the garrison every time foiled his efforts in different ways. Sometimes they flooded the mines with water, at others very brilliantly illuminated the parapets, which not only exposed the Imperialists to their hot fire, but also rendered the work of mining quite impossible. When Najābat Khān and others were drafted from his army, Sayyid Khān Jahān's progress came almost to a stop. Nevertheless two of his gunners were able to sink seven mines under the fortifications, six of which were

discovered by the garrison. But the seventh escaped their notice. The son of Sayyid Khān Jahān, being afraid lest it should also be discovered rapidly, filled it with powder and sent word to his father that he was awaiting his orders to fire it. Sayyid Khān Jahān arrived there with his men and stood ready to deliver an assault through the breach. But as the mine was not properly filled only a part of the parapet was blown off, and the attempt failed.

The failure of operations both against Maū and Nūrpūr led Shāhjahān to modify his plans slightly. He ordered Asālat Khān to Nūrpūr, and transferred Sayyid Khān Jahān to Maū. Prince Murād was directed to leave Paithan in charge of Rāo Umrāo Singh and Mirzā Hasan Safavī, and to go to Maū to supervise the siege personally. This concentration of the Imperial efforts at one point frightened Jagat Singh, and through Allah Vardī Khān he sent his son Rājrūp to the prince to apologise for his conduct, and to beg for the royal clemency. Having been assured of pardon he came and saw Prince Murād on November 28, 1641, but during the interview he proposed some unacceptable conditions, upon which the prince remarked "Obedience means to accept what is given, and not to demand what one may wish." This changed the attitude of Jagat Singh, who retired to his fort to renew his efforts.

The siege of Maū was now pressed with greater vigour than ever. Sayyid Khān Jahān, Rustam Khān, and Bahādur Khān were ordered to approach the fort from the Gangthal side. Bahādur Khān led the advance guard and kept up a running fight with the enemy during which he lost about 700 men. But the generals undaunted continued their advance. Meanwhile on December 13, Prince Murād carried the hill overlooking the fort, and ordered a general assault. Jai Singh and Allah Vardī Khān delivered the attack on the Darrah side, and entered the fort easily; while Qulij Khān led the attack from the left. Other officers entered the forest on the right side and gained the hills commanding the fort. Jagat Singh's courage now failed him, and he fled to Tārāgadh. Simultane-

ously the garrison of Nūrpūr lost heart, and evacuated the fort, which was occupied.

Though the main part of Jagat Singh's territories had been occupied, the campaign had not come to an end. He was still holding the hill fort of Tārāgadh. On December 28, Bahādur Khān and Asālat Khān were despatched to reduce it A large party of pioneers and sappers preceded them to clear the forest and widen the roadway. Further, Prithī Chand, Rājā of Chambā, was asked to return home and make preparations to assist in the investment of the fort. With him went Rājā Mān Gwāliorī, a sworn enemy of Jagat Singh. They were directed to seize the hill which commanded the Tārāgadh fort, and which lay in the district of Chambā.[75]

Jagat Singh's submission.

The siege of Tārāgadh opened early in January 1642 and lasted for two months. Although the Imperialists could make little headway, Jagat Singh grew tired and sent his son Rājrūp to Sayyid Khān Jahān, to request the latter to intercede on his behalf with the prince and the Emperor, and secure the restoration of his mansab and states.[76] On the recommendation of Prince Murād, Sayyid Khān Jahān was sent to fetch Jagat Singh. When he reached Tārāgadh, Jagat Singh admitted him into the fort, and gave a banquet in his honour, to which Bahādur Khān and Asālat Khān were also invited. Shortly after orders arrived for the demolition of the fortifications of Tārāgadh, which created a difference of opinion among the Imperial officers. Bahādur Khān and Asālat Khān were for carrying out the orders immediately, but Khān Jahān counselled delay. The attitude of Bahādur Khān and Asālat Khān irritated Jagat Singh, and he said to them, " You were able to enter the fort because I led you into it. Even now not much is lost. I present the outer fortifications to Sayyid Khān Jahān and am retiring behind the second line of defence. Let me see how you can

75 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, pp. 261—78; Shaykh Jalāl, ff. 130—35.

76 Shaykh Jalāl, f. 135.

overcome me." Jagat Singh did actually retire to his second fort and started preparations for further resistance.[77]

Upon this Khān Jahān wrote the following despatch to Shāhjahān: "I recommended the case of Jagat Singh not because I was afraid of him. In fact I was thirsty for his blood. My reasons were different. The campaign led by the prince and other leading officers had lasted too long; and Jagat Singh had taken refuge in a fort which was impregnable. Further operations would have involved the loss of Imperial prestige. I am sending Jamāl Khān, who can explain the entire situation to Your Majesty, and it is in Your Majesty's power to pardon the rebels or not." After sending this letter Khān Jahān successfully restrained the other two commanders from executing the royal orders; and took the entire responsibility in writing on his own shoulders.

Khān Jahān's part.

It seems that Shāhjahān insisted on the demolition of the fortifications of Tārāgadh, since in a later despatch Sayyid Khān Jahān wrote to the Emperor that Jagat Singh had agreed to that condition provided other buildings which he had erected for the residence of his family were spared. After demolishing the outer fortifications, and leaving his son-in-law Sayyid Fīroz to raze to the ground the remaining parapets and forts, Sayyid Khān Jahān came to the prince with Jagat Singh on March 11, 1642. Jagat Singh was presented to the Emperor a week later, and his rank was restored. He passed the rest of his life in the service of the crown.[78]

This rebellion forms an exact parallel to that of the Bundelas, and the two resemble each other remarkably. They originated from similar causes, and some of the details also coincide in both cases. The forcible occupation of Chaurāgadh by Jujhār Singh may be compared to Jagat Singh's

Comparison with the Bundela rebellion.

77 Shaykh Jalāl f. 135.

78 'Arzdāsht, ff. 20 b—24.

encroachment on the Chambā State ; the treacherous murder of Prem Nārāyan is identical with the murder of Prithī Chand's father almost in similar circumstances ; and if Vikramājīt, son of Jujhār Singh, was disaffected for some time, Rājrūp, son of Jagat Singh, at least pretended to be so. The only difference is that in one case the entire line of the rebels was extirpated, in the other they were cherished and pardoned. The reason for this is not far to seek. In the case of the Bundelas, their wealth excited the cupidity of the Moghul Emperor, and this it was impossible to obtain without extinguishing their existence ; while in the case of Jagat Singh there was no such temptation, and once the latter agreed to the demolition of his forts, Shāhjahān did not consider it necessary to go any further, since the rebels had become harmless.

CHAPTER V

MINOR CONQUESTS AND DISTURBANCES

IN 1537, some Portuguese merchants of Sāndīp secured the grant of the side of Huglī from the then ruler of Bengal.[1]

The Portuguese.

Originally a little town, Huglī soon grew in size and population. The inhabitants built strong houses, and mounted on their roofs small guns and field pieces. An offshoot of the Ganges afforded a natural protection to the town on one side, while an artificial ditch enclosed the other three.[2] Situated as it was at the entrance of the commercial highway of Bengal, in a very short time it became the richest and the most flourishing port in that region. Here vessels from other parts of India, from China, the Moluccas, and Manilla weighed anchor; and Moghuls, Persians, and Armenians carried on a brisk trade.[3]

The unsettled political condition of Bengal during the rest of the sixteenth century proved of great advantage to the

Their position in Bengal.

Portuguese, who established their dominance and extended their commerce. They obtained a monopoly of salt from the government, and paid an annual revenue of 10,000 *tankas* to the Moghul treasury. They became a rich and affluent community enjoying almost independent jurisdiction. The Moghul governor never interfered with their internal affairs, which were managed by a chief and four elected citizens. To minister to their spiritual needs, which

1 Imperial Gazetteer of India,' Vol. XIII, p. 164; Campos, 'History of the Portuguese in Bengal,' Chapter V; Danvers says that about this time attempts were made to extended the Portuguese influence in Bengal. The Portuguese in India, Vol. I, p. 422.

2 Tabātabāī, f. 11b; Qazvīnī, f. 252; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 434

3 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 392 (Cabral's letter).

were few, there was a church which was supervised by Augustinian missionaries. Most of the inhabitants were half-castes who had deserted their principals at Goa, Cochin and Moluccas, and were daring and unscrupulous.[4]

They leagued themselves with the pirates of Chittagong who were Portuguese of a similar description, scoured the neighbouring seas, entered the numerous branches of the Ganges, ravaged the islands of lower Bengal, "and often penetrating forty or fifty leagues up the country carried away the entire population of villages on market days, and at times when the inhabitants were assembled for celebration of marriage or some other festival." Their treatment of such slaves was abominable. "They would often offer for sale the aged people in their very places of residence, and it was a pathetic sight to see young men redeeming their parents."[5]

The growth of their trade gave a blow to the prosperity of Sātgānv and Sonārgānv, and their depredations devastated the neighbouring towns. Further, they persistently tried to force the Catholic religion on all those who became subject to their rule.[6] These converts were either sent as slaves to other Portuguese territories, or were sold to man the galleys of the Magh King of Arakān,[7] a sworn enemy of the Moghuls, whom they supplied with gun-powder, ammunition, saltpetre and other requisites of war. Thus their existence became a source of grave danger to the peace and prosperity of lower Bengal, because from peaceful traders they had turned into roving pirates.

But during the reign of Jahāngīr, they were left free to do what they pleased, so long as they paid the government demand. To Shāhjahān, however, they gave serious cause of offence

[4] Manrique, Vol. II, p. 393.

[5] Bernier, pp. 174—76; Qazvīnī. f. 252b.

[6] Danvers, Vol. II, p. 246; Qazvīnī notices the decline of Sātgānv, (f. 252).

[7] Manrique, Vol. II, p. 314.

by refusing to help him when he went as a rebel to Bengal. On the contrary, they cooperated with Prince Parwīz, and one of them even played false with Shāhjahān. Manoel Tavers, a resident of Huglī, first sided with Shāhjahān, but deserted him at a critical moment, seized some of his richly-laden boats, and carried away some of his women-servants including two slave-girls of Mumtāz Mahall. Another incident which occurred about the same time was the arrogant behaviour of Miguel Rodriguez, a gallant and highly respectable youth, and a favourite of Ibrāhim Khān, the Governor of Bengal. When the offer was made him, he declined to join the service of Shāhjahān. These insults rankled deep in the latter's heart, and he meditated revenge as soon as he came to power. Even after his accession the Portuguese did nothing to placate Shāhjahān, and even omitted to send him presents and messages of congratulation.[8]

The hour of retribution, however, had not yet struck. Fortunately for them, Shāhjahān was occupied with other affairs in the Empire. Unmindful of their impending doom the Portuguese did not cease their career of rapacity and blackmail. In 1629, Diego da Sa sallied from the Magh territory, sailed to a large village near Dacca, and plundered it ruthlessly. Further, he captured a Moghul lady of rank, who was escaping in a covered cart with her daughter and daughter-in-law, and attempted to violate her chastity. Her husband complained of the outrage to the Emperor, who was highly incensed at the incident, but it was not before 1632 that effective steps could be taken to deal with the Portuguese.[9]

A quarrel between two Portuguese merchants, one from Sātgānv and the other from Huglī, furnished the occasion for the intended attack. The former Martin Affonso de Mello was summoned by his rival Martin Luther to settle the dispute in the town of Huglī. But the latter being highly connected

[8] Letter of J. Cabral.

[9] Ibid.

Affonso was not sanguine of obtaining a just verdict. He therefore turned to Qāsim Khān, the Governor of Dacca, and complained against the town of Huglī as a whole, charging the inhabitants with crimes for which hardly any proof was needed. Qāsim Khān at the time of his appointment had definitely been instructed by the Emperor, who subsequently reminded him by repeated *farmāns*, to extirpate the Portuguese. The complaint of Affonso and his promise of help gave Qāsim Khān the long-sought-for opportunity.[10]

He planned to take the Portuguese by surprise.[11] Accordingly he despatched his son 'Ināyetullah on the pretext of leading a campaign to Hijlī in Burdwān, where he was asked to wait till the arrival of Khvāja Shīr, Ma'sūm Zamīndār, Md. Sālih and others with the flotilla of boats from Srīpūr. Moreover, Bahādur was sent with 500 troops to Makhsūsābād to cooperate with 'Ināyetullah as soon as he had joined the naval forces led by Khvāja Shīr. At the appointed signal 'Ināyetullah moved from Burdwān, and within twenty-four hours reached Haldīpūr midway between Sātgānv and Huglī. Bahādur soon joined him with his contingent, and they began to block the passage to Huglī to prevent the Portuguese escaping through it. The invading army consisted of 600 boats, 14,000 horsemen, 90 elephants and a large force of infantry.[12]

10 J. Cabral emphasises the religious motive of Shāhjahān in ordering the destruction of the Portuguese. Qazvīnī (f. 252 b) and Lāhaurī (Vol. I, pp. 434-35) give the religious consideration a secondary, but by no means a less important than the political significance. But Danvers erroneously presumes that this attack of Huglī by Shāhjahān was intended to make amends for his defeat in the Deccan. (Vol. II, p. 247.) Cabral also notices that the Moghuls coveted the wealth of Bandel. Manucci thinks that the attack was due to the importunity of Mumtāz Mahall.

11 Qazvīnī, ff. 252b-53. Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 435-36. Cabral calls Qāsim Khān a 'worthy henchman of his King,' and like Qazvīnī and Lāhaurī says that Qāsim Khān waited for a favourable opportunity to strike the blow. (Manrique, Vol. II, p. 396.)

12 This number has been mentioned by Manrique who says that the defenders numbered 180 Portuguese and 600 slaves 'yet so formidable a

When the Portuguese sighted this multitudinous host advancing both by land and water, they were alarmed. They approached the Fathers of the Society of Jesus to bring about an amicable settlement with the invaders.[13] Accordingly John Cabral taking two topazes went to see the Moghul commander, who charged the Portuguese of Huglī with the abetment of the attack and destruction of Murshidābād by the Magh King, with the offence of the purchasing of a Sayyid woman by one of them, and finally with traffic in slaves. Azvedo, the Portuguese captain, denied the first and the third charges, and to the second he replied that he could not be held responsible for the action of individuals. Upon this Bahādur Khān proposed to send his men into the town to search the houses of Portuguese, and those who were found in possession of slaves should be punished. But the Captain did not agree even to this. In the end, Cabral made one more attempt to bring about an accommodation, but he failed.

Both sides now prepared for war. For some time in Huglī there was great confusion, because all inhabitants were not of one mind. Some of them were not only willing to surrender the slaves, but were also ready to concede other demands of the Moghuls. A large meeting was held, in which the question was thoroughly discussed, and the majority, who were in favour of war, carried the day. Azvedo was entrusted with the work of organising the defence of the town. He had to face serious difficulties. He could not trust the natives, and the number of white men at his disposal was only 300. Moreover, the town was not protected by any fortification, and its only defence was a ditch. What Azvedo did was to link together various houses by means of improvised barricades on which he mounted his small field pieces. With these make-

multitude did these few appear in the eyes of the attackers that venturing to attack they attempted to dissuade them from defending it, by promises and offers.' (Vol. II, p. 323.) According to Danvers the number of the Portuguese was 200. (Vol. II, pp. 247-48.)

[13] The account of these negotiations is based on the letter of J. Cabral

shift arrangements he stood ready to brave the tide of the Moghul attack.

On the first day the Moghuls tried to frighten the garrison by a military demonstration. They feigned an attack and then retired. On July 1, they moved closer to the town, and arrived within the range of the Portuguese artillery which was concealed from outside view. The garrison opened a deadly fire, and repulsed the invaders with heavy losses. Next day the Moghuls delivered a concerted attack both by land and by water. On land they came so close to the Portuguese line of defence that they could snatch away firelocks and muskets from the hands of the enemy. But on the sea they fared very badly, for during the fight which ensued they lost about 600 men.

This dreadful loss of life discouraged the Moghul officers, who requested 'Ināyetullah to withdraw from the position he had taken. But the latter was loth to compromise the Imperial prestige, and remained where he was. The enemy also were tired and for some time fighting stopped. They sent Father Fry Antonio de Christo to negotiate terms with the Moghul commander, and a Moghul woman accompanied him to influence her co-religionists. 'Ināyetullah made three demands: first, that the Portuguese should surrender the four warships which they had seized; second, that they should set all Bengālī slaves free; and third, that everyone of them should come individually to pay respect and homage to him—certainly this was the most humiliating condition.

The Captain readily consented to the first demand, and surrendered the ships. For the second, he convened a meeting of the community, in which the majority voted in favour of acceptance, though the Fathers of the Society of Jesus led by Father Manoel Coelho fervently pleaded for the adoption of the oppcsite course by appealing to their religious sentiments. His arguments, however, fell on deaf ears, and the Captain surrendered about ninety Christian slaves to the Moghuls, who later insisted on the surrender of all black women, their skilled cooks, their dancing girls, their confectioners and their

seamstresses. A few consented even to this, and gathered a large party of this description in a Church, but it was dispersed by the Portuguese soldiers who were opposed to any further surrenders. But the third demand was literally complied with

Next came the time to fix the amount of indemnity, and the Moghul commander demanded 700,000 *patakas*. But the Portuguese declined to pay such a heavy sum ; and their plenipotentiaries John Cabral, de Christo and the Moghul woman were detained by 'Ināyetullah. Next day he released Cabral to persuade his friends to accept the terms. But at the time of his departure an Armenian told Cabral that the Moghul commander was biding his time by prolonging the negotiations, and that he was waiting for further reinforcements. This information was confirmed by spies, and the Portuguese decided to fight. But being unable to defend both Bālī and Huglī, they retired to the latter place. The Moghuls occupied Bālī, and celebrated their victory by plundering the inhabitants and massacring them, and by setting fire to houses. However, they spared the Christian College, and a few other houses.

Desultory warfare between the Moghuls and the Portuguese continued for about a month and a half, after which heavy artillery, consisting of 120 field pieces from 12 pounders upwards, reached Huglī. Also Martin Affonso, the deadly enemy of the garrison, arrived with a party of miners and a few warships, to help the beleaguering forces. With this accession of strength, the Moghuls opened the bombardment of Huglī from all sides. Further, to frighten the native rowers in the Portuguese employ, the Imperialists imprisoned about 4,000 families. To save their women and children, the rowers in a body deserted the Portuguese and came over to the Moghuls.[14]

This weakened the position of the Portuguese, and not being sanguine of reinforcements they opened negotiations for peace for the third time. 'Ināyetullah readily consented to come to terms, for a temporary scarcity of food was thinning his

[14] Qazvīnī, f. 253.

ranks. After some discussion the Portuguese paid 10,000 *tankas* as the first instalment of the indemnity, and promised to pay soon the other instalment of 200,000 *tankas*. This money replenished the Moghul treasury, and 'Ināyetullah strengthened his army. Meanwhile Martin Affonso prepared further means for the destruction of his enemies. He improvised a pontoon of boats by linking them with huge beams, nails, cramps and chains. Across the length of this pontoon ran a thick cable which spanned the creek of Huglī from shore to shore. Further, he managed to bar all other exits as well.

These elaborate preparations alarmed the Portuguese, and for some time great confusion and divided counsels prevailed among them. Naturally in these circumstances the negotiations with the Moghul commander broke down. In fact, 'Ināyetullah was waiting for a pretext to retract, and he now pressed the siege very vigorously. The invaders directed their efforts towards the church, where the ditch was narrower and more shallow. It was easily drained, and Bahādur Khān, Allah Yār Khān and Sayyid Hasan Kamūnā carried their trenches to the very base of the church. Next they sunk mines and filled them with powder. The garrison discovered two of them, and substituted earth for the powder ; but a third in the trenches of Bahādur Khān escaped their notice. By massing there the Moghuls drew most of the Portuguese to that point, and when once they had assembled the mine was fired. The explosion wrought terrible destruction among the garrison, and irretrievably demoralised the survivors.

Leaving about fifty or sixty of their number, the Portuguese left Huglī in a body by boat. The Moghuls immediately occupied the town, where a dreadful carnage ensued. The streets were strewn with corpses, and a large number of houses were burnt. The Portuguese flotilla made an attempt to escape from the river by cutting through the Moghul cordon. They had a large number of boats, but their crews were weak and undisciplined. Only the ship of Manoel Azvedo was well equipped with falconets, swivels, and guns. But the opposing

army possessed 500 boats and consisted of 100,000 troops protected by 5 leagues of trenches, 120 pieces of artillery and an unlimited supply of musketry.

When the Moghuls saw the Portuguese on the river, they despatched a fire raft laid on 16 boats laden with a large quantity of firewood, pitch, saltpetre, and sulphur ; but their attempt to set fire to the enemy's flotilla failed. On the other hand, the Portuguese seized the raft, and broke through the cordon which had closed their path. Now began a deadly pursuit in which hundreds of lives were lost. One after another the Portuguese boats full of fugitives were either seized or sunk. One of them was richly laden, and belonged to Gomez Bareciroz, a leading merchant of Huglī. It was full of women. The Moghuls overpowered its crew, and captured the occupants. Nevertheless some Portuguese did manage to escape, and they reached Sāgour, where they converted a *pagoda* into a fort, and sent John Cabral to conclude peace with the Magh King of Arakān.

Thus Huglī was cleared of pirates. During the campaign about 10,000 souls, old, young, women and children, lost their lives. About 4,400 persons of both sexes including Europeans, slaves and slave-girls, who had forcibly been converted to Christianity, were taken prisoner, and about 10,000 inhabitants of the neighbouring *parganas* and villages, who had fallen into the hands of the Portuguese, obtained their freedom. The loss on the Moghul side was not less heavy. Thirty-two of their boats were destroyed in the fire raft engagement, sixty in the pontoon affair, and more than a hundred were stranded on the shore and rendered useless. The casualties in their ranks numbered thousands.

A miserable fate awaited the captives. After eleven months of tedious journeying in which tender women and innocent children were exposed to inclement weather, they reached Agra, where they were presented before Shāhjahān. He ordered them to be distributed among the princes and nobles, and included some attractive women in his own *harim*.

Further, the Emperor tried to induce some of the Portuguese priests to turn Musalmān by promising them high rank and attractive rewards. But they obstinately declined such overtures, and de Christo even boldly suggested to the Emperor to become a Christian to save his soul from perdition. De Christo was consigned to prison, where he bore his cross like a true Christian for nine years. Two other Christian priests who had remained in Hugli were abominably treated by the *Mullās* of Dacca. One of them was beaten to death and another severely wounded. Of other Portuguese, those who accepted Islām were released immediately, while the others were imprisoned and were mercilessly tortured.[15]

The destruction of Huglī, and the inhuman treatment meted out to the Portuguese, have incessantly been attributed to the religious intolerance of Shāhjahān. This is the truth, but not the whole truth. That there were other causes over and above religious frenzy should be apparent from the foregoing narration. On the other hand, those who condemn Shāhjahān speak not a word in favour of the Portuguese. They are not depicted as a peace-loving community, carrying on legitimate business in Hugli. Their piracy, their proselytising zeal, and their dishonesty, are mentioned in every contemporary chronicle, foreign as well as native. The fate which they suffered was what they deserved, but too severely carried out. But if their extinction coincided with the adoption of a policy of intolerance by Shāhjahān; it would be wrong to assume that the latter was the cause of the former.

Among the minor annexations of this period the most daring was that of 'Little Tibet.' In the reign of Jahāngīr an attempt was made by Hāshim Khān to reduce this country, but he met with a disastrous failure.[16] Shāhjahān, however, was tempted to repeat the effort,

Little Tibet.

[15] Bernier, pp. 176-77; Manrique, Vol. II, p. 325; pp. 331—33; p. 336 and pp. 336—39; Manucci, Vol. I, p. 183.

[16] Qazvīnī, f. 413b;

and he achieved some measure of success. It appears strange that contemporary writers do not, as is customary on their part, offer justification for the campaign of the Emperor among the inhospitable hills of the north. In fact 'Little Tibet', had few attractions to boast of, its only produce being some coarse wool. But it seems that its ruler, the Abdāl, offended the Moghuls by affording asylum to the Chaks, the original rulers of Kashmir, who every now and then entered their former country and created trouble there.

Zafar Khān the Governor of Kashmir persuaded the Abdāl to acknowledge the Moghul sovereignty, and to read the *Khutba* in the Emperor's name in 1634.[17] But within the next four years he forgot his promise and repudiated the treaty. So in the spring of 1637-38 Shāhjahān ordered Zafar Khān to subjugate Tibet. The Khān set out with 2,000 cavalry, and 10,000 infantry and entered Little Tibet. Abdāl fell back from one strategic point to another, and when he found his position untenable, he submitted to Zafar Khān. The *Khutba* was again recited in Shāhjahān's name, and the Abdāl paid one million of rupees as indemnity.

The victory in 'Little Tibet' was gained more by underhand and treacherous means than by force of arms. But far more important than the submission of the Abdāl was the apprehension of the families of Habīb Chak and Ahmad Chak. The latter had proved a source of immense mischief in Kashmir during the viceroyalty of I'tiqād Khān, and was now sent by the Abdāl to threaten the rear of the Imperial army and intercept their supplies. But Habīb Chak was still in Tibet, and he surrendered to Zafar Khān with his hundred followers. Being apprehensive of an outbreak in his province, Zafar Khān immediately returned to Kashmir with the Abdāl and the Chak captives.[18]

17 Qazvīnī, f. 306.

18 Qazvīnī, ff. 413—17; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 281—89

When Shāhjahān ascended the throne, the political condition on the North-Eastern Frontier was by no means free from complication. Kūch Bihār was ruled by Bīr Nārayan, son of Lakshmī Nārāyan, and Kāmrūp was in the nominal charge of a Moghul officer, Shaykh Zāhid. No trouble occurred in these regions for about a decade, because of the reluctance of the Ahom King of Assam to involve himself unnecessarily in a quarrel with the Moghuls by interfering with the politics of Kāmrūp.

Assam.

It was to perpetuate this peaceful atmosphere that Qāsim Khān the governor of Bengal sent a messenger with an Assamese merchant to the Ahom King. But the latter, under the influence of some interested councillors, ordered the mediating merchant to be killed, and declined to receive the Moghul envoy. Further he assisted Bali Nārāyan, son of Parīkshit to invade Kāmrūp, whence the latter had been ejected by the Moghuls. Thus started a conflagration which lasted for about two years, and occasioned a frightful loss of life and treasure.

The Moghuls, who were unprepared for the attack, were soon driven out of Kāmrūp, and its capital Hājo was occupied by the invaders. Meanwhile in Bengal Qāsim Khān had been replaced by Islām Khān. The latter soon after his arrival made vigorous efforts to retrieve the Imperial prestige in the East. He despatched effective reinforcement to Kāmrūp, and his officers put Bali Nārāyan and his supporters to flight. Bali Nārāyan died, while the Moghul operations were still going on, and thus a great source of mischief in the Eastern regions was removed.

To revenge themselves on the Ahom King for all the trouble he had stirred up in Kāmrūp, the Imperialists decided to carry war into Assam and push the Moghul frontiers as far east as possible. They attacked the Ahom outpost of Kajlī and occupied it. Leaving a strong garrison at Kajlī, the Moghuls advanced further and stopped at Samdhāra. The Ahom King now made feverish preparations to check the invaders. He adequately equipped and garrisoned the fort of Samdhāra, and stood for a trial of strength with the enemy. The Moghuls

in entering Assam had reckoned without their host. They were vigorously attacked by the Ahom King, and were driven across the Brahmaputra. The fort of Kajlī was lost to them, and they now transferred the capital of Kāmrūp to Gauhātī.

Henceforward till 1658, the relations between the Moghuls and the Ahom King remained peaceful, if not very cordial. Occasionally there occurred some disputes about the boundary line, trading privileges, or other similar affairs, but they never became serious. There is mention of a friendly mission from the *faujdār* of Gauhātī to the Ahom King in 1647, but it is doubtful if it was accredited by the Moghul Emperor.[19] In fact, after 1639 little notice is taken of Assam by the Moghul chroniclers ; and it is too much to presume that a well-thought-out policy was pursued in that region. The occupation of Kāmrūp was merely an isolated episode bearing little connection with the general Imperialistic policy in the reign of Shāhjahān. He wanted to expand his Empire in the North-West and towards the South ; the eastern regions beyond Bengal never fired his imagination. War with Assam was undertaken mainly to protect Kāmrūp. Had the Ahom King not encouraged Bali Nārāyan and taken up his cause, it is doubtful if so much time and energy would have been wasted by the Moghuls in that region.

The entire region from Bīrbhūm and Pachet to Ratanpūr in Central India and from Rohtāsgadh in South Bihār to the frontier of Orissa, was in the mediæval period known as Jhārkhand. It was split up into a number of independent states which occasionally gave trouble to the Moghuls. The hilly and jungly character of that region rendered the subjugation of these chiefs a long drawn out process. Moreover, like other *zamīndārs* of a similar type, they would bend to the storm at the moment and retract afterwards.

Shāhjahān ordered 'Abdullah Khān Fīroz Jang to reduce

[19] Bhattāchāryā, 'The Moghul North East Frontier Policy,' pp. 250—96 ; Lāhaurī, Vol. II, pp. 64—90.

Partāp the Zamīndār of Ujjainia near Buxar. While 'Abdullah Khān closely invested his stronghold of Bhojpūr, another party led by Zabardast Khān stormed and captured the fort of Kohīpūr, towards the south. The siege of Bhojpūr lasted for six months, and the garrison were reduced to narrow straits. At length, Partāp evacuated the main fort and retreated to his garden inside. Here too he could not stand long, and wanted to retire to the citadel which had already been occupied by the sons of Zafar Khān. A bloody contest ensued in which the latter were killed. The Moghuls now besieged Partāp in the citadel and compelled him to surrender. He came to see 'Abdullah Khān wearing only a loin cloth, leading his wife by her hand. 'Abdullah Khān ordered him to prison, and sent a report of his success to court. Shāhjahān ordered that Partāp should be executed, and his wife should be handed over to a Muslim officer.[20]

Ujjainia.

The next place to bear the brunt of 'Abdullah Khān's attack was Ratanpūr, the *Zamīndār* of which Bābū Lachhman, had become headstrong and disobedient. With the help of Amar Singh, *Zamīndār* of Bāndhū, 'Abdullah Khān marched to Ratanpūr. On the way the sympathisers of Bābū Lachhman obstructed his passage, but they were easily overcome by 'Abdullah Khān who invested the fort of Tiyūnthar. In a spirit of desperation the garrison killed their women and children and valiantly sallied out to fight with the enemy. They put up a brave resistance, but were overwhelmed by superior numbers and destroyed to a man. The Imperialists occupied their stronghold, and 'Abdullah Khān set out for Ratanpūr. Bābū Lachhman opened negotiations for peace through Amar Singh. 'Abdullah Khān sent Kavi Rāy to assure him of the royal clemency. Bābū Lachhman submitted and went to court with Fīroz Jang.[21]

Ratanpūr, 1634-35

20 Qazvīnī, ff. 407-8b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 271—74.

21 Qazvīnī, ff. 339b-340; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 74—76.

More interesting than the above two was the subjugation of Palāmaū. This district, like the surrounding country, was 'a confused aggregation of jungle-clad hills, offshoots from the Chutianāgpūr plateaux, and of the fertile valleys between them.' It was held by the Cheros, a Kolarian tribe, and their Rājā at the time was Partāp. His want of obedience to the governor of Bihār was an unpardonable crime for which he deserved severe chastisement. But fortunately for Partāp, when 'Abdullah Khān was the governor of that province, his hands were too full to give him time to turn to him. In the words of the Moghul chronicler, 'the Rājā became haughty and behaved disrespectfully towards Shāyista Khān, the new governor. When the latter reported the matter to court, the Emperor ordered him to drive away Partāp and 'to clear the country of the filth of his existence.'

Palāmaū.

Accordingly leaving his son in charge of Patna, Shāyista Khān started for Palāmaū on October 12, 1641, with about 5,000 horse and 15,000 foot. He moved in complete battle array. Keeping the centre under his personal command, he placed Zabardast Khān in charge of the vanguard, the left wing under Ātish Khān Deccanī, the right wing under Bakhtiyār Khān, and the rear under Sayyid Mirzā. From Gayā onwards Shāyista Khān proceeded very cautiously. At every stage he threw out earthen breastworks to protect his camp from surprise attacks. A large party of pioneers preceded the main army to clear the jungle and widen the road, and the villages on either side of it were ruthlessly sacked and destroyed to strike terror into the heart of the enemy. Nevertheless the Cheros occasionally emerged from the surrounding forests and surprised stragglers from the Moghul army.

On January 26, 1642, the Imperial army left Ārū and moved towards the northern side of the Palāmaū fort. The enemy barred their path on the way, where the road bifurcated, but they were driven off after a sharp engagement. Shāyista Khān now deputed an officer to choose a place for the camp,

but he was attacked by the enemy who inflicted severe losses on his troops. In the end after great exertions Shāyista Khān succeeded in pitching his camp on the bank of the rivulet which flowed past the fort ; but the enemy continued to harass his men. After some time the Imperialists occupied the hillock commanding the fort, and opened a heavy fire on it. Partāp became alarmed, and sent a message offering 80,000 rupees as *peshkash*, if royal pardon was guaranteed to him. He further agreed to repair to Patna to pay respect to the Moghul governor. These terms proved satisfactory to Shāyista Khān who did not want to continue the operations, because of the approaching rains, and he retired.

But, ere long, civil distractions in Palāmaū furnished a fresh cause of interference with its affairs. It appears that Partāp behaved rudely towards his chiefs, who conspired to overthrow him. Soon after his arrival in Bihār, I'tiqād Khān who succeeded Shāyista Khān was approached by two Chero chiefs, Dariyā Rāy and Tej Rāy who won his support and promised to send Partāp a prisoner to Patna. They returned to Palāmaū, and with the help of their friends succeeded in imprisoning Partāp. Tej Rāy now became head of the tribe. When I'tiqād Khān asked him to fulfil his promise, he procrastinated. But Tej Rāy could not hold his own for long, because his elder brother Dariyā Rāy soon turned against him. In order to punish Tej Rāy I'tiqād Khān won over Dariyā Rāy, who promised to surrender Deogānv if the governor sent his men there.

Accordingly I'tiqād Khān despatched a contingent of troops under Zabardast Khān and the *Zamīndār* of Shahābād. They reached Deogānv about the beginning of October 1643. Dariyā Rāy, with his sons and some other Chero chiefs, came out to meet them, and surrendered the fort. Zabardast Khān sent Dariyā Rāy and his followers to Patna, and began to strengthen his position in Deogānv. He won over by rewards the obedient and punished the stubborn and recalcitrant. Then he sent a reconnoitring party to clear the forest and widen the

road to Palāmaū. On October 15, news was brought that Tej Rāy had sent 600 horsemen and 7,000 foot under his *Vakīl* Madan Singh Thakurāī to Bāolī Chīwan, and two other contingents of troops to Morda and Kunda, to check the Imperialists, and that the former party meditated a surprise attack in the night. Zabardast Khān coolly waited for the enemy, and repulsed them.

In the meantime rumours of the elaborate preparations of Tej Rāy reached I'tiqād Khān, and he promptly despatched Bāqar Khān Najm Sānī to reinforce his men in Deogānv. But before the latter arrived at his destination a revolution had occurred in Palāmaū. On November, 5, in the absence of Tej Rāy, who had gone out hunting, Sūrat Singh and Sabal Singh, sons of Madan Singh Thakurāī, released Partāp and surrendered to him the protagonists of his rival. Tej Rāy now became a homeless wanderer flying from place to place and seeking shelter among forests and hills. His *Vakīl* Madan Singh was reduced to a similar plight. Upon this Zabardast Khān marched to Palāmaū, leaving Deogānv in the hands of Dhīrendra Ujjainia. He crossed the dense forest and arrived at Māngadh where he received a humble letter of submission and obdience from Partāp. But Zabardast Khān replied that he could trust to his words only if he consented to accompany him to Patna. Partāp demurred to this proposal. Zabardast Khān now warned him of the fateful consequences after the arrival of Bāqar Khān. This alarmed Partāp who agreed to the terms and set out with Zabardast Khān for Patna on November 17. They met Bāqar Khān on the way. At Patna Partāp agreed to pay an indemnity of one hundred thousand rupees, and I'tiqād recommended him for a *mansab* to the government. The Emperor appointed him a commander of 1,000. Thus Palāmaū for the time being escaped the calamity which befell it later on in the succeeding reign.[22]

In Mālwa the Gonds and Bhils gave occasional trouble to

22 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, pp. 356—61; J.A.S.B., 1871, pp. 111—24.

the Imperial officers. In December 1632, one Bhāgīrath Bhil, the Zamīndār of Khātā Kherī, who till then had submitted to no governor, relying upon the invincibility of his stronghold, committed certain excesses. The governor of Mālwa, Nasīrī Khān marched to punish him. This alarmed Bhāgīrath, who sought the mediation of his neighbour Sangrām, the *Zamīndār* of Kunar, to intercede for him. He promised to be loyal and obedient, and pay a regular subsidy in return for the possession of the fort which for a long time had been his home. Further he begged to be excused personal attendance at court. But these evasive terms did not satisfy Nasīrī Khān and he resumed his march. When he arrived within four miles of Khātā Kherī, Bhāgīrath lost courage, and surrendered the fort on a promise of pardon and safe conduct. Nasīrī Khān occupied it on December 24, 1632, led the prayers in the Emperor's name and consecrated it with Muslim rites.[23]

Mālwa.

A decade later some trouble arose in Kunar among the hills of Gondwāna. After the death of its *Zamīndār* Sangrām, who was loyal to the Moghul government, his chief officer Mārvī Gond deprived his son Bhūpat of the state, which he usurped himself. He allowed a small pittance to Bhūpat, and with the assistance of a party strengthened his own position. He then disowned allegiance to the Moghuls and stopped payment of the annual tribute. His example proved catching, and many other *Zamīndārs* withheld their dues and showed a truculent spirit.

The situation became intolerable and demanded prompt and effective steps. Khān Daurān left Rāisen and marched to punish the rebel. He entered his state and waited till a road should be cleared through the forest. After placing adequate guards at the various stages on the line of retreat, he crossed into the valley of Kunar. On April 26, 1643, he encountered a hostile army consisting of 5,000 Gonds supported by seven

23 Qazvīnī, ff. 259—60; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 449-50.

or eight hundred musketeers, who blocked his way. Khān Daurān dispersed them after a brief fight, and halted in the valley during the rainy season. Meanwhile he sent a contingent of troops to sack the neighbouring hamlets. The determination of the Moghul commander terrified Mārvī Gond, and he turned to Mirzā Walī and Govind Dās, two of the trusted followers of Khān Daurān, to bring about a peaceful settlement. In token of his friendly attitude he sent Bhūpat with some notables to the Moghul camp.

While the negotiations were going on, it transpired that some party among the garrison was attempting to rescue Bhūpat. Upon this Khān Daurān imprisoned the notables who accompanied Bhūpat, and placed Bhūpat himself in custody. On the failure of Mārvī Gond to deliver the fort, Khān Daurān advanced further and occupied Lakhrā Hill. But the chances of reducing the fort were none too bright, for Kunar stood on the top of a 'two-storeyed' hill which was a solid block of stone rising perpendicularly. The single rift in these natural fortifications had been filled with heavy masonry work, every inch of which was well protected by guns.

In these circumstances it was impossible to storm the fort without heavy artillery. Accordingly Khān Daurān requested the Emperor to send two big guns and reinforcements. Shāhjahān ordered Rashīd Khān Ansārī from Burhānpūr, Pahāḍ Singh Bundela from his *jāgīr*, Jān Sipār Khān from Mandsūr, and Pirthivī Rāj Rāthor from Rāmpūr, to march quickly to the assistance of Khān Daurān. After the arrival of these auxiliary troops, the latter opened the siege on February 18, 1644, and began to bombard the fort from the battery. Realising the futility of further resistance Mārvī Gond sued for terms, and came to see Khān Daurān about the end of March. Khān Daurān occupied the fort, and placed it in charge of his brother Md. Sālih, with a contingent of 500 horse and 700 matchlock men.[24]

[24] Lāhaurī, Vol. II, pp. 370—72.

The hilly states of Gaḍhwāl and Kumāon also attracted the attention of the Moghul Emperors, and occasionally attempts were made to subdue them. In the reign of Jahāngīr the Rājā of Kumāon came to court, and was lavishly rewarded[25]; and it seems that he continued loyal to the Moghul house.

Gaḍhwāl and Kumāon.

The earliest attempt made in the reign of Shāhjahān to subdue Gaḍhwāl was in April 1635, when Najābat Khān, the *faujdār* of Kāngḍa, requested permission to invade Srīnagar. He entered the Sirmūr hills, seized Shīrgadh on the Jumna, and subdued the country up to Hardwār. Here he crossed the Ganges, entered Gaḍhwāl, and arrived within six miles of Srīnagar. The Rājā deceived him with a promise to pay a million of rupees as tribute, and detained him among the hills. He closed the line of retreat to the Moghuls, hemmed them in and destroyed their army to a man. Only Najābat Khān escaped to report the disaster to court. He was removed from the *faujdārship* of Kāngḍa.[26]

Two decades later, in 1654, another abortive attempt was made by Khalīlullah to reduce Srīnagar. The Imperialists penetrated into the country up to Bahādurpūr, secured the submission of the Rājā of Kumāon, and returned.[27] In January 1656 Qāsim Khān *Mīr Ātish* invaded Gaḍhwāl at the head of 4,000 troops, and in July of the same year Mednī Singh son of the Raja of Srīnagar came to court to proffer submission to the Emperor on his father's behalf.[28]

There was always present among the hill-tribes of the North-West Frontier of India a spirit of disorderliness, and a tendency to create trouble. The restlessness of Ahdād was a source of much annoyance to Imperial officers during the reign of

25 R. B., Vol. I, p. 218.

26 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 90—93.

27 Wāris, ff. 142b-143b.

28 Wāris, f. 157 and f. 159 b.

Jahāngīr ; but in 1625-26 Zafar Khān pressed him hard and surrounded him in Nawak, where the rebel was killed by a chance shot.[29] Ahdād was succeeded by his son 'Abdul Qādir, who plundered the camp of Zafar Khān while he was marching to Kabul by way of the Khyber Pass. On this occasion the entire army of the Moghul governor perished. After his accession Shāhjahān replaced Zafar Khān by Lashkar Khān in the governorship of Kabul.[30]

During the rebellion of Khān Jahān, one Kamāluddīn fomented trouble among the Afghān tribes, between Kabul and Attock. But Sa'īd Khān promptly marched against them, detached 'Abdul Qādir, and put down the outbreak.[31] Again in 1638 there was a general rising of the tribes in Naghz, but their leader Karīmdād was captured alive and executed.[32] Two years later the Yūsufzaī's proved turbulent, but their rising was easily crushed by Sayyid Dilīr Khān, the *thānahdar* of Naushera.[33] In 1650 Khushhāl Khatak was, at his own request, entrusted with the task of controlling the Yūsufzaī's, and he seems to have succeeded. Moreover, the constant movement of armies from India for the Qandahār campaign kept the tribes silent during the rest of Shāhjahān's reign.[34]

According to Qazvīnī, Bāisanghar, after his defeat near Lahore, fled to Kaulās (in Badakhshān) and died there. But an unknown person assumed his name and repaired to Balkh, where he was kindly received. The ruler of Balkh, even once thought of marrying him into his family, but suspecting his *bona fides* refrained from taking such a step. This impostor

29 Maāsir-ul-Umarā, Vol. II, pp. 246-47.

30 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 190-91; Qazvīnī, ff. 155b-56.

31 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 311—13; ff. 195b—197.

32 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, pp. 12—14.

33 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 222.

34 Wāris, f 67 b.

went from Balkh to Persia where the Shāh, although he did not see him, indirectly arranged sumptuous entertainments for him. From Persia he travelled to Baghdād and Turkey, and ultimately arrived at Thattah. Here too he put forward his pretensions to the governor Daulat Khān. But the latter imprisoned him and sent him to court, where Waqqās Hājī recognised him. Upon this he was ordered to be put to death in 1636.[35]

[35] Qazvīnī, f. 387; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 206. President Rastell in his letter from Sūrat to Persia (May 13, 1631) refers to the rumour of Bāisanghar's invading the Western frontiers of Shāhjahān's dominions in alliance with the Tārtār ruler. The English Factories in India (1630—33), p. 160. For Bāisanghar see Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1869, p. 218.

CHAPTER VI

EXTINCTION OF AHMADNAGAR

THE kingdom of Ahmadnagar was founded in 1490 by Malik Ahmad Nizāmulmulk.[1] He seceded from the Bahmanī Empire and defeated the repeated attempts of the puppet Sultān Mahmūd to subdue him. But soon after Malik Ahmad's death disruptive tendencies became active in the kingdom, and through the rest of its long-drawn-out existence we do not come across the reign of a single monarch who may be credited with the introduction of beneficial measures or the establishment of an ordered government. Thus Ahmadnagar remained for all time a playground for the warring ambitions of factious leaders whose only concern was to maintain their own supremacy, even though at the cost of the integrity of the kingdom. Add to this, perennial warfare with Bījapūr and Golconda, and the picture of the miserable distractions of the kingdom becomes complete. With its energies exhausted, its resources depleted, its administrative machinery out of gear, Ahmadnagar was reduced almost to a lifeless body, during the last decades of the sixteenth century and the early part of the seventeenth century. Malik 'Ambar revitalised its fossilised structure for a short time, but after his death decline again set in.

Survey of the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar.

Formal relations between Ahmadnagar and the Moghuls began in the reign of Burhān I, who appealed to Bābur[2] and Humāyūn[3] for protection from the high-handedness of Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt. But it was not till sixteen years after the accession of the third Moghul Emperor that these relations were

Contact with the Moghuls.

[1] Burhān-i-Maāsir, p. 19; Ferishta, Vol. II, p. 96.

[2] Ferishta, Vol. II, p. 105.

[3] Burhān I despatched Rāstī Khān to solicit Humāyūn's help against a league of the Deccan Kings. (Ferishta, Vol. II, p. 116.)

established on a diplomatic footing. During his first expedition to Gujarāt, Akbar sent Mīr Muhsin Rizvī[4] to the court of the Nizāmshāh, and thereby gave an indication of the fact that by virtue of his conquest of Gujarāt he had become overlord of Ahmadnagar.[5] But for the time being he was content with a doubtful homage of the Nizāmshāh and the presents which he sent to him. His power was not yet firmly established in the north, and so it was unwise[6] to challenge the Deccan rulers.

Causes of Akbar's advance towards the Deccan.

But within the next twenty years the Moghuls became indisputably supreme. From the eastern borders of Bengal to Qandahār on the west, and from Kashmir in the north to the Narbada in the south, the country acknowledged the might of a single sovereign and enjoyed almost a uniform system of administration. The keynote of this stupendous structure was military despotism, a system which to be kept alive needed a policy of perpetual territorial expansion. Moreover, the existence of this mighty empire depended on a large army which was constantly growing. This army was manned by thousands of brave soldiers and capable officers, who could not be left idle without a serious menace to the internal security of the realm. Besides, it was much too expensive to keep such a huge army without employment. Thus need to find work for an overgrown army was one of the factors which shaped the Deccan policy of Akbar.

Another idea which may have appealed to him was the ambition to attain the distinction of *Chakrvartin*.[7] He had

[4] A. N., Vol. III, p. 108; Badāonī, Vol. II; (Lowe), p. 174.

[5] Burhān I read the *Khutba* in Bahādur Shāh's name. (Ferishta, Vol. II, p. 107.)

[6] Abul Fazl remarks: "In accordance with the Shahinshāh's principle of preferring urgent matters to ordinary ones, the conquest of the Deccan was delayed, and all his energies were devoted to the taking of the eastern provinces and the chastisement of the rebels there" (A. N., Vol. III, p. 109.)

[7] E. B. Havell, Arayan Rule in India, Chapter XX.

before himself the instances of Hindū monarchs who after completing the conquest of the North turned to the South. Even presuming that theirs was a past history, the cases of Alā'uddīn Khiljī and Muhammad Tughlaq were not of remote antiquity ; and Akbar was not less gifted than either of the two.

Besides this irresistible tendency of a northern power to expand towards the south, Akbar was inspired by yet another consideration. He regarded himself obliged by a certain Divine Trust to establish good government in every country ; in his eyes the Moghul government was synonymous with good government. And as such Ahmadnagar offered a suitable field for his activities.

The mad rule of Murtaza Nizāmshāh fostered the growth of party strife in that kingdom. During the ephemeral sway of Husain and Ismā'īl "the custom of general massacres and of general plundering became so rife in the city and the kingdom of Ahmadnagar that it was as though peace and security had fled from the world."[8] To save himself from the tyranny of his insane brother, Burhān II fled[9] to Akbar : a number of officers likewise sought refuge at the Moghul court. Thus the prevailing chaos in Ahmadnagar, the presence of a claimant at his court, and his appeal for help, gave a fairly justifiable pretext to the Moghul Emperor to interfere in the affairs of Ahmadnagar.

Anarchy in Ahmadnagar.

By assisting Burhān II, Akbar thought he would be able to assert his supremacy in the Deccan more effectively. But his *protégé* did not prove as docile as was expected. Soon after his accession he repudiated allegiance to Akbar and declined to listen to the friendly advice of his neighbour, the ruler of Khāndesh. Further, when Faizī the Moghul envoy arrived at

Burhān's recalcitrance.

[8] Burhān-i-Maāsir, p. 109.

[9] Ferishta, Vol. II, p. 144; Both Futūhāt-i-'Ādilshāhī (f. 183), and Tazkirat-ul-Mulūk (f. 135 b) say that Burhān first took protection in Bījāpūr.

his court, Burhān II not only treated him with scant courtesy, but firmly refused to send suitable presents[10] to Akbar. This was enough to provoke the latter's resentment ; the internecine strife which broke out in Ahmadnagar after the death of Burhān II encouraged Akbar further. He despatched a large army under Prince Murād who besieged Ahmadnagar and secured the cession of Berār.[11]

Annexation of Berār and its consequences.

The annexation of Berār is the starting point of the Moghul forward policy in the Deccan. It broke the barrier between the North and the South, and it involved the Imperialists in constant wrangles with the Nizāmshāhīs. The idea of maintaining political prestige dominated the Moghul attitude, and rendered the total extinction of Ahmadnagar only a question of time. Akbar came to the Deccan to complete the work begun by Prince Murād in 1595. He reduced Khāndesh, recovered Berār, and annexed Bālāghāt. A sudden contingency[12] compelled him to reurn to the North leaving his work in the Deccan unfinished.

Rise of 'Ambar.

An immediate consequence of the want of consolidation on the part of the Moghuls was to leave parts of the Ahmadnagar Kingdom in the hands of some ambitious chiefs. Two of these 'Ambar and Rājū came to prominence and began to fight for supremacy. By his skill and courage 'Ambar defeated his rival, consolidated his possessions, and revived the fortunes of Ahmadnagar and proclaimed a puppet, Murtaza II, as king.[13] He then defied the northern intruders and drove them to Khāndesh. During the whole of Jahāngīr's reign there was a constant duel between the resourceful Malik 'Ambar and the *fainéant* generals of the

10 A. N., Vol. III, pp. 909 and 982.

11 A. N., Vol. III, pp. 1045—48.

12 This was Salīm's rebellion.

13 For Malik 'Ambar's rise see: Tazakirat-ul-Mulūk, ff. 234—8; Futūhāt-i-'Ādilshāhī, ff. 266b—72.

Moghul Empire. Khān Khanān, Khān Jahān, 'Azīz Kokah, all tried their skill one after the other, but they were beaten back by the valiant Abyssinian. At length Prince Shāhjahān was sent to the Deccan, and after two campaigns he succeeded in restoring the prestige of his house, which was lowered again during his rebellion. When Malik 'Ambar died in 1626, the Moghul possessions in the Deccan included Khāndesh, Berār, the fort of Ahmadnagar, and parts of Bālāghāt.

Malik 'Ambar was succeeded by his son, Fath Khān but Murtazā II did not trust him. The misunderstanding came to a head when Fath Khān failed to apprehend Khān Jahān who, during the pursuit of Shāhjahān, was reduced to a miserable plight by heavy rains.[14] On his return to the capital Murtazā II imprisoned Fath Khān in the fort of Sinnār. But Fath Khān bribed his guards and escaped to Sipehdār Khān the Moghul commander of Ahmadnagar, who welcomed him.[15] He soon attracted a large following and advanced to fight with Murtazā II, but he was defeated and captured. This time he was imprisoned in the fort of Daulatābād. Murtazā II appointed Muqarrab Khān as Commander-in-Chief and Ikhlās Khān as Peshwā.[16]

Murtazā II and Fath Khān.

During the troubles which ensued at the Moghul court owing to the rebellion of Mahābat Khān and the jealous rivalry between Nūr Jahān and Āsaf Khān after the death of Jahāngīr, Murtazā II succeeded in inducing Khān Jahān, the Viceroy, to part with Bālāghāt, and other Moghul possessions in the Deccan.[17] Thus Khān Jahān's treachery reduced the royal demesne in Ahmadnagar to the fort only, which the commander Sipehdār Khān did not surrender. When Shāhjahān ascended the throne, he confirmed Khān Jahān in the governorship of

Khān Jahān's treachery.

14 Futūhāt-i-'Ādilshāhī, f. 294 and f. 325.

15 Futūhāt-i-'Ādilshāhī, f. 325.

16 Futūhāt-i-'Ādilshāhī, f. 325; Iqbālnāma, p. 283

17 Iqbālnāma, p. 284.

the Deccan and asked him to recover the lost territories. But the latter temporised, and so he was superseded[18] by a more energetic officer, Khān Zamān S. Mahābat Khān.

But the change of governors did not improve the situation. Operations and negotiations dragged on in the Deccan as usual. Moreover, Murtazā II was helped by his neighbours to resist the Moghul encroachments. The existence of Ahmadnagar was of vital importance both to Bījāpūr and Golconda, and in spite of their mutual jealousies we find them more than once combining to fight the common foe. But these confederacies were mostly temporary ; they were dissolved as soon as they were made. Suspicion, threats, tempting promises by the Moghuls, any of these factors was enough to induce one or two of the parties to break away from the third, leaving the erstwhile friend in the lurch. But towards the end both Bījāpūr and Golconda, the former more than the latter, helped to preserve the outward form if not the integrity of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. It was this extraneous assistance which rendered the process of its final extinction so protracted.

Khān Jahān was soon replaced by Irādat Khān[19] as the governor of the Deccan. Shortly after, Khān Jahān fled from court and took protection with Murtazā II. The arrival of the rebel at Daulatābād and the warm welcome extended to him there, made the situation intolerable to Shāhjahān. The prestige of the Moghul Empire was now doubly involved ; the Nizāmshāh had clandestinely occupied Bālāghāt, and now openly challenged the Imperial power by taking up the cause of Khān Jahān. It was high time that Murtazā II should be taught a lesson for his temerity. The existence of Ahmadnagar could no longer be spared.

Rebellion of Khān Jahān.

18 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 199.
19 Qazvīnī, f. 175; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 257.

The kingdom at present included the entire *Sūba* of Aurangābād, Jālna, Nāsik, Baglāna, and the district of Kaliyān in the Konkan from Bānkot to Bassein. The physical features of this broken country favoured the Deccanīs who had been especially trained and perfected in guerilla methods of warfare. Their surprise attacks were a nightmare to the Moghul army, and their swiftness and agility drove the Imperial generals to their wits' end. To balance these disadvantages Shāhjahān hit upon the plan of overwhelming the enemy by sheer numbers, and by attacking their various strategic points simultaneously. He sent one large army under A'zam Khān (Irādat Khān) to enter Bālāghāt and overpower Khān Jahān ; a contingent of troops under Khvāja Abul Hasan to plunder and occupy Nāsik and Sangamnīr ; and another contingent under Nasīrī Khān to Telingāna in the east.[20]

Area of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar; Shāhjahān's plans.

Another important move in the Imperial strategy was to honour the Marāthā chiefs who were already in the Moghul employment, with a view to tempting others to desert the Nizāmshāh, and thus impairing the strength of his army. Khelojī, Mālojī and Udājīrām Deccanī were presented to Shāhjahān immediately after his arrival in the Deccan, and he distinguished them with titles and commands.[21] Later, the relations of the unscrupulous Jādav Rāo came to court and were honoured.[22] Of the Muslim officers who came over to the Moghuls mention ought to be made of Ātish Khān, Yāqūt Khān and Khudāvand Khān.

Marāthās honoured.

A'zam Khān opened the campaign by inflicting a crushing defeat upon the Nizāmshāhīs. He drove Khān Jahān out of Ahmadnagar, and opened the siege of Dhārūr, a place of strategic importance on the road

Fall of Dhārūr.

20 Qazvīnī, f. 189b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 293-94.

21 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 293.

22 Qazvīnī, f. 194 b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 310.

across Bālāghāt. The Imperialists thinned the number of musketeers among the garrison by shooting them through the loopholes ; the chance fall of a gun from a bastion discouraged the defenders still further. When a party of the assailants succeeded in scaling the fortifications by means of ladders and nooses, the commander, Sīdī Salīm lost heart and capitulated.[23]

Sack of Parenda.

After the reduction of Dhārūr, A'zam Khān spent some time in futile negotiations with Randola Khān, the 'Adilshāhī commander, who had been deputed by his master to watch the frontiers.[24] Being alarmed at the rumours of a favourable attitude of Khawās Khān (the Bijāpūr Dictator) towards the Nizāmshāh, A'zam Khān requested the emperor for reinforcements.[25] Shortly after he received orders from Āsaf Khān to secure the safe passage of Shaykhs Mu'īnuddīn and Muhīuddīn, who were coming with presents from Bījāpūr and Golconda respectively.[26] To divert the attention of the Deccanīs, A'zam Khān decided to press on Parenda. He despatched Jai Singh and Multafit Khān to plunder the suburbs and the town. The Imperialists obtained much booty including seven elephants.[27]

Treaty between Ahmadnagar and Bījāpūr.

The sack of Parenda and the close proximity of the Moghul army upset Muqarrab Khān ; he fervently appealed to Randola Khān for help. He represented to him the miserable condition of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar which, he wrote, had practically ceased to exist, since the entire country was

[23] Qazvīnī, ff. 209b—211; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 339—43.

[24] Randola Khān demanded Dhārūr as an indication of Shāhjahān's goodwill towards the 'Ādilshāh. For details of negotiation see Qazvīnī, ff. 211b-12; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 344—46.

[25] Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 356.

[26] Qazvīnī, f. 213 b; Lāhaurī does not say that A'zam Khān took this step on the suggestion of Āsaf Khān. (*Cf.* Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 356.)

[27] Qazvīnī, f. 214.

in the occupation of the Moghuls. Nāsik and Sangamnīr had been plundered and seized by Abul Hasan; Junnār, Chākan and Poona were in the hands of Shāhjī now an ally of the Moghuls; Dhārūr had fallen; Kandhār was on the verge of capitulation, and a severe famine was raging round Daulatābād. Muqarrab Khān further added that if Parenda was also allowed to fall into the hands of the Moghuls the extinction of the Nizāmshāhī house would be complete, which, he warned Randola Khān would pave the way for the subjugation of Bījāpūr.[28]

A'zam Khān received constant reports of the correspondence between Randola Khān and Muqarrab Khān and when it became clear to him that peace between the two had been concluded and that Khawās Khān had ordered Randola Khān to help Muqarrab Khān, A'zam Khān decided to reduce Parenda. He opened the siege without waiting for the reinforcements to arrive. The fort was invested on three sides and commands were assigned to various officers. After heavy fighting an approach to the moat was secured, and the Imperialists began to fill it up. The garrison in distress appealed for help to Muqarrab Khān who despatched Vithojī to fall upon the beleaguering forces, but he was repulsed by the Imperialists.

Abortive attempt to reduce Parenda.

Meanwhile supplies in the Moghul camp ran short and it became necessary to send out foraging parties to districts situated at a distance. This provided an opportunity to the Deccanīs to harass the foragers. On one occasion when Maltafit Khān and Khudāvand Khān were returning with a convoy of fuel and fodder, Muqarrab Khān fell upon them; but the timely arrival of A'zam Khān saved the situation, and the enemy were beaten off with heavy losses. The Imperialists seized 600 camels, 200 horses, and many bullocks.

28 Qazvīnī, f. 214; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 357-58.

It was, however, impossible to continue the siege amidst such trying conditions. The Moghuls were in the grip of severe scarcity and the enemy would not let them move an inch from their camp. The cooperation of Bījāpūr had doubled the Nizāmshāhī strength. Moreover, the expected reinforcements did not arrive in time. So A'zam Khān was compelled to withdraw from Parenda; he retreated towards Dhārūr closely pursued by the enemy. On his way across the hilly region he was simultaneously attacked, front and rear, by the allies; and after suffering great hardships he arrived at his destination.[29]

Reduction of Kandhār.

After resting a while at Dhārūr, A'zam Khān renewed the campaign. He led a surprise attack on Bahlol (a Nizāmshāhī officer) who had fallen apart from Randola Khān. He seized 900 horses, 200 camels, and many bullocks; then he returned to Amba. The allies now marched to the relief of Kandhār, but A'zam Khān successfully intercepted their route. On the other hand, Nasīrī Khān who was vigorously carrying on the siege of Kandhār repulsed a surprise attack by Sarfarāz Khān, a Deccanī officer. The work of laying mines beneath the fortification continued, and out of twenty-one mines which were commenced six were completed and charged. After A'zam Khān's arrival three of them were fired, one failed, but the other two destroyed the outer earthwork and one-half of a bastion. The garrison maintained a constant volley of rockets, morters, stones and grenades, but the storming parties pressed on; and the conflict raged from midday till sunset. But the breach being impracticable the assailants were compelled to retire. In the night trenches were carried forward and preparations were made to fire the remaining three mines. On realising that the fall of the place was imminent the garrison capitulated on terms and the Imperialists occupied the fort[30] on May 7, 1631.

29 Qazvīnī, ff. 214 b-15; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 358—60.

30 Qazvīnī, f. 216 and ff. 227-28 b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 374—77.

To complete the account of Moghul operations in Ahmadnagar reference ought to be made to the activ.ties of the other two officers who were despatched to Berār and Nāsik respectively. Wazīr Khān quickly drove the enemy out of Berār, and returned to Burhānpūr. But Abul Hasan's task was not so easy. According to the Emperor's instructions he deputed his subordinate officers to plunder the *mahalls* of Gālnā and Pātora. Murtazā II despatched Mahalldār Khān and Dādā Pandit to oppose the invaders, but they were defeated and pursued by the Imperialists to Sangamnīr. By the end of the regnal year, Abul Hasan occupied Nāsik and Sangamnīr. He was ordered to hand over Nāsik to Shāhjī who had come over to the Moghuls, and himself to march to the assistance of Nasīrī Khān.[31]

The Imperialists in the Western districts.

While these extensive operations were devastating the country, a revolution at the Nizāmshāhī court finally sealed the doom of that unfortunate kingdom. Muqarrab Khān had so far maintained resistance to the Moghul arms, but his achievements did not appeal to Murtazā II. Moreover, he was constantly pestered by his wife[32] with entreaties for the release of her brother Fath Khān who, she said, would bring about a desirable change in the situation. To please her Murtazā II set Fath Khān free and reinstated him as the Vakīl and Peshwā. But Fath Khān's advent to power instead of instilling any new vigour into the operations against the Moghuls brought them to a standstill. On the other hand, Muqarrab Khān who felt annoyed at his supersession, approached A'zam Khān and through him entered the Imperial service and received the title of Rustam Khān.[33]

Revolution in Ahmadnagar.

31 Qazvīnī, f. 223; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 367.

32 Futūhāt-i-'Ādilshāhī, f. 325 b.

33 Qazvīnī, ff. 229-29 b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 378-79.

Fath Khān who had not yet shaken off his distrust of Murtazā II took the earliest opportunity of removing him from the throne and consigning him to prison. He then wrote to Shāhjahān that he was willing to own allegiance to him. He received an encouraging reply, and was asked to give proof of his sincerity by putting his captive to death. Thereupon Fath Khān compelled Murtazā II to drink a cup of poison and gave out that he died a natural death. In Murtazā's place he seated Husain a boy of ten years of age.[34]

Murtazā II imprisoned and murdered.

Shāhjahān now asked Fath Khān to surrender all the jewels and elephants of the Nizāmshāh[35] but Fath Khān delayed to comply with the order. The Emperor therefore ordered Rustam Khān and Wazīr Khān to reduce Daulatābād. Fath Khān was alarmed and despatched Abul Fath to apologise for his conduct. Soon after 'Abdul Rasūl arrived at court, and presented to the Emperor thirty elephants, nine horses and jewellery worth eight hundred thousand rupees.[36] On Fath Khān's reciting the *Khutba* and striking coins in his name, Shāhjahān was satisfied and left Burhānpūr[37] on March 6, 1632.

Fath Khān's submission.

With Shāhjahān's return to the North, the first stage in the subjugation of Ahmadnagar came to a close; but the results achieved so far were by no means of a stable nature. True, the rebellion of Khān Jahān was suppressed, Bālāghāt was recovered, and Moghul supremacy was restored, but real peace was not yet established and sparks of disaffection were still smouldering. There was Shāhjī who held the possession of Junnār and the neighbouring districts; he was not well disposed

34 Qazvīnī, f. 238 b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 402; Futūhāt-i-'Ādilshāhī, ff. 224 b-25 b; Hadīqat-us-Salātīn, ff. 243b-244; Tabātabāī, f. 4b.

35 Lāhaurī Vol. I, p. 402; Qazvīnī, f. 239.

36 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 409-10; Qazvīnī, f. 241; ff. 244 b-45.

37 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 422; Qazvīnī, f. 247; Hadīqat-us-Salātīn says that Fath Khān after his submission was created a *Panj-hazārī*, i.e., a commander of 5,000 (f. 249 and f. 250 b.)

towards the Moghuls. Moreover, the fidelity of Fath Khān itself was uncertain ; to leave him in possession of Daulatābād was a grave mistake. Finally, Bījāpūr was in its own interests still ready to help in the revival of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar.

Reasons for Shāhjahān's return.

It is, however, perfectly clear that Shāhjahān fully appreciated the situation. By offering the Viceroyalty of the Deccan to Āsaf Khān, Shāhjahān meant to post the most influential officer there, but Āsaf Khān declined the honour.[38] Shāhjahān's next choice fell on Mahābat Khān a veteran soldier and the commander-in-chief of the Moghul army. Mainly, two considerations affected Shāhjahān's decision to return to the North: first, the outbreak of a severe famine which drained his resources and inconvenienced his men, and second, the death of his beloved wife Mumtāz Mahall, which grieved him intensely.[39] He was disgusted with the Deccan and was unwilling to remain there. It was a human frailty which overcame him on this occasion, otherwise he seldom left things half done.

Surrender of Gālna

Khān Zamān was ordered to officiate in the Deccan till the arrival of his father there ; and he kept a sharp eye on the charge he was holding. Soon after the departure of the Emperor it was brought to Khān Zamān's notice that Mahmūd Khān the commander of Gālna had repudiated allegiance to Fath Khān and was intending to surrender the fort to Shāhjī, now an avowed enemy of the Moghuls. Khān Zamān asked Mīr Qāsim Harvī

38 Qazvīnī (f. 248). Futūhāt-i-'Ādilshāhī says that when Allah Vardī Khān was sent by the Emperor to Bījāpūr to summon Āsaf Khān and to inform him of his appointment as the Viceroy of the Deccan, the latter said to the messenger privately: "I am ready to forego my *jāgīrs* in Multān, Lahore and even those which the emperor may be contemplating to assign me now, but I cannot live away from the court." When Allah Vardī Khān reported this to Shāhjahān he cancelled his orders and appointed Mahābat Khān as the Viceroy of the Deccan (Futūhāt, f. 324); Lāhaurī says that Mahābat Khān's appointment was due to the incompetence of A'zam Khān (Vol. I, p. 424).

39 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 422; Qazvīnī, f. 247.

the Moghul commander of Alang, to induce Mahmūd Khān to surrender the fort to the Imperialists. Mīr Qāsim held out tempting promises to Mahmūd Khān, who dismissed Shāhjī's representatives and sent his sons Muzaffar and Mansūr together with his *Vakīl* Qāzī Abul Fazl to Khān Zamān. The latter received them honourably, and recommended them to court for *mansabs*. Shāhjahān appointed Mahmūd Khān to the command of 4,000 *zāt* and 4,000 *suwār*; and the fort of Gālna was occupied by Khān Zamān's men.[40]

On his arrival in the Deccan Mahābat Khān found himself face to face with an intricate situation. When Shāhji submitted to Shāhjahān, he was assigned certain *mahalls* which were the private property of Fath Khān, but when the latter tendered his submission his lands were restored to him.[41] The new arrangement gave umbrage to Shāhjī, who now felt aggrieved both against the Moghuls and Fath Khān. Taking advantage of the latter's unpopularity among his people, Shāhjī opened correspondence with Murārī Pandit, an influential minister at the 'Ādilshāhī Court, and through him induced Muhammad 'Ādilshāh to send a large army for the reduction of Daulatābād.[42] The combined efforts of Shāhjī and the 'Ādilshāhīs together with the disaffection of his own officers, alarmed Fath Khān. He appealed to Mahābat Khān to rescue him and Daulatābād from the hands of the enemy. Mahābat Khān promptly responded to the call for help, and despatched his son Khān Zamān to assist Fath Khān.

Conquest of Daulatābād.

The advance of the Imperialists and his failure to check them led Randola Khān, the 'Ādilshāhī commander, to open negotiations with Fath Khān. He promised him to give three hundred thousand *huns*, and to furnish the fort with copious

[40] Qazvīnī, ff. 255-56 b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 441—44

[41] Qazvīnī, f. 278 b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 497.

[42] Ibid.

supplies, provided Fath Khān changed sides. Randola Khān further impressed on Fath Khan that the Moghuls were more eager to seize the fort for themselves than really to help him. Fath Khān yielded to these persuasions and broke away from the Imperialists. When this act of treachery was brought to the notice of Mahābat Khān, he ordered Khān Zamān to intercept the communication between Randola Khān and Fath Khān to disperse the enemy who were lying in Nizāmpūr, and to open the siege of Daulatābād.

Meanwhile Mahābat Khān made extensive preparations to second the efforts of his son. Taking a lesson from the failure of other officers who preceded him in Bālāghāt, Mahābat Khān's first step was to ensure his supply of provisions. For this purpose he won over the *banjāras* (carriers) of Northern India by giving them elephants, horses, and robes of honour; and with their assistance established an uninterrupted line of communications with Agra and Gujarāt, which were the two chief centres for the export of grain.

After satisfactorily completing his arrangements Mahābat Khān left Burhānpūr and arrived at Daulatābād, on March 1, 1633. The siege of the fort was now pressed with great vigour, and batteries were established at strategic points. In his fright, Fath Khān removed Husain Nizāmshāh to Kālākot, himself remained in Mahākot, and strengthened 'Amberkot and other fortifications of Daulatābād. Undaunted by the treachery of his Deccanī officers and the distractions caused by the activities of Randola Khān and Shāhjī, Mahābat Khān closely invested and captured 'Amberkot. He then advanced against Mahākot.

In spite of their repeated discomfiture at the hands of the Imperialists, Randola Khān and Shāhjī made one more determined effort to convey some provisions to the garrison, who were now almost starving, their only sustenance being boiled skins of dead animals. Accordingly they advanced towards the fort with about 3,000 loads of grain which they despatched under an escort of the Carnatic musketeers. Mahābat Khān ordered Nasīrī Khān to fall upon the guards

and seize the supply. The musketeers fled without fighting, and the Imperialists returned to their camp with the entire convoy.

At this stage, Murārī Pandit arrived with fresh troops from Bījāpūr. His arrival encouraged Randola Khān and he became active between Khirkī and Daulatābād. He attempted to draw the Moghul army in parts, and defeat them in details. But Mahābat Khān's vigilance saved the Imperialists from the snares of Randola Khān. Meanwhile a mine in the fortifications of Mahākot was completed and Mahābat Khān decided to fire it. Fath Khān grew alarmed and requested a respite from Mahābat Khān. But the latter asked Fath Khān to send his son as a hostage for his good faith. When Fath Khān hesitated to comply with the demand, Mahābat Khān ordered the mine to be fired. The explosion levelled one bastion and 15 yards of the fortifications. The Imperialists led the assault through the breach, and occupied the citadel of Mahākot.

The fall of Mahākot and the failure of Murārī to relieve the sufferings of the garrison drove Fath Khān to utter despondency ; the outbreak of an epidemic rendered any further resistance out of the question. Fath Khān therefore sent his son 'Abd-ur-Rasūl to apologise on his behalf to Mahābat Khān for his recent treacherous conduct and to obtain a week's respite to evacuate the fort. Mahābat Khān granted these requests, and even advanced one-and-half millions of rupees to Fath Khān to help him in his departure from the fort. Further Mahābat Khān placed at the disposal of Fath Khān elephants, camels, and other means of transport. As stipulated Fath Khān left the fort after a week, and the Imperialists occupied it[43] on June 17, 1633.

Leaving Daulatābād in charge of Nasīrī Khān, Sayyid Murtazā and others, Mahābāt Khān proceeded to Zafarnagar. On the way the 'Adilshāhīs hovered on his flanks and harassed him. On his arrival near Zafarnagar, Mahābat Khān was

[43] Qazvīnī, ff. 279—99; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 496—531.

approached by Farhād Khān on behalf of Murārī Pandit, to conclude peace; but he dismissed the messenger without even giving a hearing to him.[44] At Zafarnagar, he allowed his men some rest. Meanwhile the enemy made the last desperate attempt to recover Daulatābād. They thought that Nasīrī Khān and his men were tired and that the fortifications were out of repairs, so the fort would easily succumb to their attack. But Nasīrī Khān rose equal to the occasion and inflicted terrible losses in the rival ranks by his repeated sallies from the fort. Mahābat Khān also advanced from Zafarnagar whereupon the enemy retreated.[45]

The campaign against Daulatābād and its occupation mark the second stage in the annexation of Ahmadnagar. The operations were protracted and were occasionally complicated by the treachery of the Deccanīs in Moghul employ. But thanks to the dogged perseverance and resourcefulness of Mahābat Khān, he overcame serious difficulties and won success amidst unfavourable circumstances. On this occasion his military genius rose to the highest pitch of efficiency. With great agility he spotted the danger points, strengthened them well, and foiled the schemes of his rivals. At times he seemed to be struggling against tremendous odds but he never lost control of the situation. Murārī, Randola Khān and Shāhjī did what they could to coerce him to swerve from his purpose, but he obstinately clung to the task which he had set before himself. The success which he obtained was unique inasmuch as it was won by his own exertions. Never before did any general of the Moghul Empire display such marvellous energy in the Deccan.

Mahābat Khān's efficiency.

The report of the conquest of Daulatābād was conveyed to court within a week, and Shāhjahān was much elated to hear it. He sent to Mahābat Khān a robe of honour, a jewelled sword, two horses, one with silver trappings, and the other

[44] Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 532; Qazvīnī, f. 298 b.

[45] Ibid.

with gold trappings, one male elephant with housings of brocaded velvet, and one female elephant. A robe of honour, a horse and an elephant, were sent to Khān Zamān; Nasīrī Khān was distinguished with the title of Khān Daurān; and other officers received promotion and rewards according to their merits.

The previous treachery of Fath Khān made Mahābat Khān distrustful of him, and so after his arrival at Burhānpūr he put him under surveillance. Shāhjahān ordered Mahābat Khān to send the captive to court under the escort of Islām Khān who was going to the North from Gujarāt. Fath Khān and Husain Nizāmshāh arrived at Agra on September 21, 1633. The latter was handed over to Sayyid Khān Jahān to be imprisoned in the fort of Gwālior, where Bahādur (another scion of the same house), who had been captured after the fall of Ahmadnagar, was passing his days. As to Fath Khān his crimes were passed over, his *jāgīrs* were restored, and an allowance of two hundred thousand rupees per year was fixed for him.[46]

The occupation of Daulatābād, though a signal success, did not prove to be the final stage in the subjugation of Ahmadnagar. It did not bring peace or order to the newly-conquered territories; on the other hand, the country suffered from all the evil effects of military occupation. Moreover, there were patches of land in the hands of an ever present and elusive enemy. The western districts, especially Junnār, Poona, Chākan and the Konkan were beyond the pale of Moghul authority; and in this tract the seed of the future Marāthā power was being sown. In the south, Udgīr and Ausa were under the Nizāmshāhī officers who were unwilling to surrender them to newcomers. But the centre of trouble was Parenda which once belonged to the Nizāmshāh, but was now in the hands of the 'Ādilshāhī officers.[47]

[46] Qazvīnī, ff. 299, 302 b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 533, 540.

[47] Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 33; Qazvīnī, f. 319

Mahābat Khān made one more determined effort to conquer it, but he failed and died of a broken heart. Upon this Shāhjī resumed his activities for the revival of the Nizāmshāhī dynasty. What gave him a distinct advantage was the weak military position of the Imperialists. Prince Shujā' was already gone, and Khān Daurān had also returned to Mālwa ; there was hardly any leader competent to keep in check and overawe the Deccanīs. Murtazā Khān[48] was the governor of Daulatābād, and Allah Vardī Khān[49] of Pāyīnghāt. Though both of them were distinguished for personal bravery, neither was a general of any reputation ; they had served with distinction in subordinate posts, but never as independent commanders. In contrast to them Shāhjī was certainly more resourceful if not more courageous. Moreover, he was a Deccanī and could successfully appeal to the sympathy of his countrymen, to whom the Moghuls were strangers and intruders.

Shāhjī's activity.

Shāhjī's primary aim was to recover Daulatābād. So he occupied the neighbouring *mahalls*, and began to collect the revenue on behalf of his puppet Nizāmshāh. Murtazā Khān was not in a position to defend the fort as also to dislodge the enemy from outside ; but no sooner did Khān Daurān get intelligence of the crisis in the Deccan, than he marched to Burhānpūr. Leaving Mādho Singh and Mīr Fathullah in charge of this town Khān Daurān hastened to Daulatābād where he arrived on January 27, 1635. Here he learnt that the enemy had retreated to Rāmdūd, so he stopped for a day to take rest.

Next day he set out in pursuit of Shāhjī's men whom he overtook at Shivgānv, but they broke up and fled. Khān Daurān pursued them closely and seized their camp. He then marched to Pāthrī whence he went to Ahmadnagar. He equipped the fort with a copious supply of provisions and fodder. Shortly after he was informed of Khān Zamān's arrival in

48 Maāsir-ul-Umarā, Vol. III, pp. 279—85.

49 Maāsir-ul-Umarā, Vol. I, pp. 207—15.

Bālāghāt and of his progress towards Daulatābād. When he received orders of appointment as governor of Pāyīnghāt, he left Ahmadnagar and went to Burhānpūr.[50]

But Shāhjī was not yet at the end of his resources; he continued to ravage the Moghul territories as boldly as ever. Needless to say that in his activities he was assisted and encouraged by the 'Ādilshāh. Moreover, the outbreak of Jujhār Singh and the drafting of the royal forces to Bundelkhand left the field clear for Shāhjī. Contemporary chroniclers do not record the details of his activities, but only say that he created much trouble. That it attracted the attention of the Emperor, and compelled him to march to the Deccan shows that the situation was critical, and that it was beyond the power of Khān Zamān to deal with it.

Shāhjahān comes to the Deccan for the second time.

Shāhjahān left Agra on September 21, 1635, with the twofold object of securing unity among his officers campaigning in Bundelkhand, and of visiting Daulatābād and completing the subjugation of Ahmadnagar.[51] From Hindya on the Narbada he despatched envoys to the 'Ādilshāh and Qutbshāh to warn them of disastrous consequences if they attempted to interrupt, or refused to cooperate with him in his attempt to restore peace in the country annexed by him.[52] He crossed the Narbada on January 4, 1636, and was welcomed by Allah Vardī Khān near Burhānpūr. After celebrating his solar birthday outside the town Shāhjahān marched to Daulatābād. When he arrived near it, Khān Zamān came out to welcome him. He presented to the Emperor some of the Deccanī officers[53] e.g., Mubāriz Khān, Rao Satrsal, Prithvīrāj Rāthoḍ, Rāo Hāthī Singh, Mālojī Bhonsla, Parsojī and Dānish Khān Habashī.

50 Qazvīnī, ff. 336-37; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 68—70.

51 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 104-5; Qazvīnī, ff. 349b-50.

52 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 130.

53 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 135.

At Daulatābād Shāhjahān finally developed his plan of campaign. With a view to the exigencies of the situation he divided his army into three sections: one division of 12,000 troops led by Khān Daurān and Rājā Jai Singh was despatched to Kandhār and Nānder to keep an eye on the joint frontiers of Bījāpūr and Golconda. It was further ordered to be ready to march to the relief of threatened points and to reduce Udgīr and Ausa. The second division under Khān Zamān was ordered to march to Ahmadnagar, seize Shāhjī's *mahalls* in Chamargunda and Ashthī, to reduce the Konkan, and to wait for further orders regarding the attack on the 'Ādilshāhi country. The third division led by Shāyista Khān was ordered to conquer Junnār, the seat of Shāhjī's power, and to occupy Sangamnīr, Nāsik and Trimbek.[51]

His plans.

Shāyistā Khan opened the campaign by detaching Allah Vardī Khān with 2,000 troops to march to the North to reduce the various forts in that region. Allah Vardī Khān occupied Chāndor and won over an influential Marāthā chieftain Hambīr Rāo by obtaining for him a rank of 2,000 *zāt* and 1,000 *suwār* and a gift of 50,000 rupees. With his assistance Allah Vardī Khān seduced the garrisons of many other forts, which were surrendered to him. In one of these forts some members of the Nizāmshāhī family were residing. When Allah Vardī Khān appeared before it, they made an attempt to escape but they were captured.[55]

Shāhjī dislodged.

Meanwhile Shāyista Khān drove out Shāhjī's men from Sangamnīr and restored order in these districts by inducing the inhabitants to take to agriculture and by promising security to them. He then marched towards Junnār and despatched Bāqar Khān to recover it from Shāhjī's men. To relieve the pressure on Junnār the enemy drew Bāqar Khān towards the Konkan,

54 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 135-36; Qazvīnī, ff. 363 b-364 b.

55 Lāhaurī Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 146-48; Qazvīnī, ff. 368b-70.

but thereby they impaired the defence of the fort. When Shāyista Khān who was now in Ahmadnagar heard it, he detached a contingent of 500 troops to reduce Junnār. The move proved successful and the Imperialists captured the fort. But shortly after, the enemy dodging Bāqar Khān appeared before Junnār and attempted to rescue the family of their master, Shāhjī. The Imperialists were pressed hard but the timely arrival of Shāyista Khān saved the situation.[56] Thus, though the position of the Moghuls improved considerably in the western districts of Ahmadnagar, it was not altogether free from danger.

Shāhjahān's return: Aurangzīb's viceroyalty.

After securing the submission of the 'Ādilshāh, Shāhjahān departed from Daulatābād leaving Prince Aurangzīb as the Viceroy of the Deccan.[57] The Prince found much to occupy his attention. Shāhjī was still at large and the forts of Udgīr and Ausa were in the hand of the enemy. After the conclusion of peace with Bījāpūr Khān Daurān tried to obtain their possession by peaceful means, failing which he marched to Udgīr and invested it on August 17, 1636. He laid mines beneath the fortifications and exploded one of them but the breach did not prove to be practicable. He did not wish to explode other mines lest, during the general assault, any harm should befall the grandson of Ibrāhīm 'Ādilshāh II, who was inside the fort. Therefore he sent for a representative from among the garrison and showed him his preparations. When the latter on his return reported to the commander the critical conditions of the fortifications, he capitulated. The same procedure was adopted at Ausa. Bhojrāj the commander was dismayed, and surrendered the fort.[58]

56 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 149-50; Qazvīnī, ff. 370-71b.

57 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 202, 205. Qazvīnī, ff. 385-86b.

58 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 217—21; Qazvīnī, ff. 391-92b.

Shāhjī rounded up.

As to Shāhjī, Prince Aurangzīb deputed Khān Zamān to round him up. Shāhjī had recovered from the Imperialists Junnār, Chākan, and Poona, and was stronger than ever in his native land. Khān Zamān marched to Junnār and leaving a contingent there to invest the fort, himself moved to dislodge Shāhjī from Poona. The 'Ādilshāh ordered Randola Khān to cooperate with Khān Zamān. "Attacked both from the north and the south Shāhjī retreated skilfully through the Sahyādrīs into the Konkan. There doubling on his track, he retreated through the same passes and reached the *Desh*, while his pursuers still sought for him to the west of the Sahyādrīs." But in the end Khān Zamān discovered the trail and pursued Shāhjī from place to place till he took refuge in Maholī.

The fort of Maholī was besieged by the joint forces of the Moghuls and the 'Ādilshāhīs. The garrison numbered only 200 and resistance to the assailants was preposterous. Nevertheless Shāhjī tried to trick his enemies, failing which he sued for terms. He was asked to surrender the puppet Nizāmshāh and six forts in Ahmadnagar, which were still in the hands of his men. He agreed to these conditions, and was then allowed to enter the service of the 'Ādilshāh who assigned him Poona and Sūpā as jāgīr.[59]

"Thus after forty years of strife the affairs of the Deccan were at last settled. The position of the emperor was asserted beyond challenge, his boundaries clearly defined, and his suzerainty over the southern kingdoms formally established."[60] Though Aurangzīb's eight years of governorship are not marked by any constructive reforms, the country remained on the whole, peaceful ; the two expeditions, one led by Khān Daurān, to exact tribute from the Gond Rājās and the other led by Mālojī

59 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 225—30; Qazvīnī, ff. 394 b-97b; Sarkār, History of Aurangzīb Val. I, p. 48; Kincaid and Parasnis, History of the Marāthā People, Vol. I, pp. 117—21.

60 Sarkār, History of Aurangzīb, Vol. I, p. 41.

and Md. Tāhir Khurāsānī to subdue Baglānā, did not disturb the internal security.[61] During his tenure of office, Aurangzīb visited Agra twice, once for his marriage with Dilras Bānū Begum in 1637, and a second time to see his sister Jahān Ārā who was badly burnt in 1644.

Reforms in the Deccan.

It was during Aurangzīb's second governorship of the Deccan that beneficial reforms were introduced there. The economic. condition of this province was deplorable. A quick succession of viceroys and the tortuous exactions of some of them had brought about a ruinous state of affairs. "Agriculture had not been promoted, the peasantry had not been cherished, and new lands had not been brought under tillage. On the contrary, much cultivated soil had lapsed into the jungle, the cultivators had declined in numbers and resources, and the revenue had fallen off." It fell to Murshid Qulī Khān, the able *Dīvān* of the Prince, to remedy some of these evils and he threw himself into the task wholeheartedly.

He extended Todar Mal's system to the Deccan. His first step was to repopulate the deserted villages and to restore normal life in them. "Everywhere wise *amīns* and honest surveyors were deputed to measure the land, to prepare the record of well marked out holdings and to distinguish arable land from rocky soil and water courses. Where a village had lost its headman, he took care to appoint a new headman from the persons whose character gave the best promise of their readiness to promote cultivation and take sympathetic care of the peasantry. The poorer *ryots* were granted loans from the public treasury, for the purchase of cattle, seeds and other needful materials of agriculture, and advance was recovered at harvest by instalments."[62] Thus the new province was improved to pave the way for the annexation of Bījāpūr and Golconda.

61 Sarkār, History of Aurangzīb, Vol. I, pp. 49—54.

62 Sarkār, History of Aurangzīb, Vol. I, pp. 191—94; Maāsir-ul-Umarā, Vol. III, pp. 493—500.

CHAPTER VII

BIJAPUR AND GOLCONDA

Akbar's relations with the 'Ādilshah

OF all the kingdoms which were formed after the disintegration of the Bahmanī Empire, Bījāpūr was the strongest. It was founded by Yūsuf 'Ādilshāh about the same time as the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar, and endured for about two hundred years. It came into touch with the Moghuls during the reign of its third ruler, 'Alī 'Ādilshāh. Abul Fazl records the return of Khvāja 'Abdullah in 1579 and remarks, "Though he (the 'Ādilshāh) did not obey orders in the proper manner, yet like other rulers of the Deccan he sent prudent men and choice presents. H. M. sent Hakīm Gīlānī with him (Khvāja 'Abdullah) as the bearer of salutary advices, and to warn him that if he did not hearken to them, he would be made war upon."[1] 'Alī 'Ādilshāh welcomed the Hakīm Gīlānī and led him to the city of Bījāpūr with great honour. The Hakīm was followed by another envoy, 'Ain-ul-mulk Shīrāzī, who was accorded a similar reception. Hakīm 'Alī was dismissed with suitable presents, but his colleague was still at Bījāpūr when 'Alī 'Ādilshāh was murdered[2] in 1581.

Dāniyāl's marriage to the daughter of Ibrāhīm II.

He was succeeded by Ibrāhīm 'Ādilshāh II, and during the later part of his long reign of 47 years Bījāpūr came into closer touch with the Moghuls, through the expansion of their empire towards the South. In 1600 Akbar sent Sarmadī[3] to the court of Ibrāhīm II, and three years later Prince Dāniyāl was married[4] to the daughter of the 'Ādilshāh. But in spite of his profession of friendship to the Moghul Emperor,

[1] A. N., Vol. III, p. 388.

[2] Ferishta, Vol. II, p. 47.

[3] A. N., Vol. III, p. 1171.

[4] A. N., Vol. III, p. 1239; Tazkirat-ul-Mulūk, ff. 225b—227. Futūhāt-i-'Ādilshāhī, f. 250.

Ibrāhīm II did not desist from extending protection to Malik 'Ambar,[5] who had fled from Ahmadnagar to Bījāpūr. It may, perhaps, be presumed with justice that Ibrāhīm II abetted and encouraged the attempts of the Abyssinian adventurer to restore the Nizāmshāhī dynasty, which certainly was a politic step.

Jahāngīr and Ibrāhīm II.

During the reign of Jahāngīr the diplomatic relations between the Moghuls and the 'Ādilshāh were of a very shifting nature. In the earlier stages, the latter invariably combined with Malik 'Ambar to resist the Imperial advance. Therefore when Shāhjahān arrived for the first time in the Deccan, his first step was to break the confederacy of the Southern powers. He isolated Malik 'Ambar and brought him to his knees. But soon after his departure the same conditions reappeared, and it again fell to his lot to solve the complicated situation.

The rise of Malik 'Ambar and the revival of the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar, though it saved Bījāpūr from immediate Moghul encroachment, did nothing to foster peaceful relations between the two. When Shāhjahān rebelled against his father and Mahābat Khān and Prince Parwīz arrived in pursuit of him in the Deccan, Bījāpūr and Ahmadnagar were at daggers drawn, and both of them were eager to come to an understanding with the Moghuls. The distrust of Malik 'Ambar led Mahābat Khān to make a friendly gesture to Ibrāhīm II, who entered into a sort of offensive and defensive alliance with the Moghuls.[6]

Soon after, Shāhjahān became active in Bengal and Bihār, and Mahābat Khān and Prince Parwīz were ordered to return to the north to deal with the rebel. This was Malīk 'Ambar's opportunity. He invaded the 'Ādilshāhī Kingdom, entered the

[5] Futūhāt says that after the fall of Ahmadnagar to the Moghuls Malik 'Ambar lived for a considerable time in Bījāpūr (f. 261 b).

[6] Futūhāt, ff. 287—95; Beni Prasad, 'History of Jahangir,' p. 387.

country, sacked Bīdar, marched post-haste to Bījāpūr, plundered Nauraspūr, and opened the siege of the fort. But soon Md. Lārī, who had gone with 5,000 troops to the Moghul Deccan, arrived with his new allies and compelled Malik 'Ambar to retire. During the pursuit which followed Malik 'Ambar turned round, defeated and killed Md. Lārī, and dispersed the Bījāpurī army.[7] The Moghuls fared no better, because they were overtaken by scarcity. Malik 'Ambar invaded Bījāpūr again and stormed Sholāpūr.[8] By this time, Prince Parwīz and Mahābat Khān had returned to the Deccan, and so Malik 'Ambar withdrew from Bījāpūr. Shāhjahān during his stay at Junnār maintained a friendly correspondence with Ibrāhīm II, who occasionally sent him money, provisions and stores.[9] Ibrahim II died on Wednesday, September 12, 1627.

Death of Ibrāhīm II and the accession of Muhammad.

After his death his nobles debated the question of the succession, and in the end, with the concurrence of the Queen-mother, Baḍī Sāhib Muhammad 'Ādilshāh was proclaimed king. Messages of congratulation were received from Shāhjahān who sent Afzal Khān, and Mohammad Qutb-Shāh, who sent Shaykh Md. Tāhir.[10] Murtaza II omitted to send an envoy, and his silence was ominous, for, when he broke it, it was to promote the cause of Prince Darvīsh Md., the rival candidate to the 'Ādilshāhī throne. He invaded Bījāpūr with a large army and inflicted a crushing defeat on the 'Ādilshāhī forces led by Ikhlās Khān.[11]

7 Beni Prasad, 'History of Jahangir,' pp. 389—90; Futūhāt-i-'Ādilshāhī, ff. 286 b—294.

8 Ibid.

9 Futūhāt-i-'Ādilshāhī, f. 294.

10 Futūhāt-i-'Ādilshāhī, f. 297 b and f. 315; Basātīn-us-Salātīn, f. 41.

11 Futūhāt-i-'Ādilshāhī, ff. 315—19.

When Shāhjahān heard of the quarrel between the two kings, he sent Shaykh Mu'īnuddīn to bring about peace. The representatives of the two kingdoms met at the house of Mustafā Khān in Bījāpūr, but the conference came to a deadlock on the question of Sholāpūr, which neither party was willing to see in the hands of the other. The 'Ādilshāhī representative, Abul Fath, who was of an irritable nature, left the council in disgust, and the meeting broke up. Thus Shaykh Mu'īnuddīn's mission failed, and the breach between Ahmadnagar and Bījāpūr remained as wide as ever.[12] But the Imperial envoy was accorded a fitting reception by the 'Ādilshāh who gave him rich presents for the emperor.[13]

Shāhjahān's attempt to restore peace between the 'Ādilshāh and Murtazā II.

Meanwhile the rebellion of Khān Jahān brought Shāhjahān to the Deccan, and he opened his extensive campaign in Ahmadnagar. The two powerful leaders in Bījāpūr were divided in their attitude towards the Moghuls, Mustafā Khān was favourable to them and was a bitter enemy of the Nizāmshāh, because his father-in-law Md. Lārī had been killed by Malik 'Ambar. He therefore advocated the total extinction of Ahmadnagar in co-operation with the Moghuls. But Randola Khān and some other premier nobles were opposed to this view, and tried to dissuade Md. 'Ādilshāh from concurring with the opinion of Mustafā Khān. But for the time being the latter triumphed over his opponents, and the King ordered Randola Khān to march to the frontier to be ready to help the Imperialists if they asked for help.[14]

Mustafā Khān a partisan of the Moghuls

12 Futūhāt-i-'Ādilshāhī, ff. 321-21b.

13 Futūhāt-i-'Ādilshāhī, f. 321 b; Qazvīnī, f. 213b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 356.

14 Basātīn-us-Salātīn, f. 45 (b).

After the capture of Dhārūr by A'zam Khān, Randola Khān and his father Farhād Khān sought an interview with A'zam Khān to settle the plan of reducing that part of the Nizāmshāhī territories which the emperor had assigned to the 'Ādilshāh. To test the sincerity of their professions, A'zam Khān asked them to help him in the pursuit of the Nizāmshāhīs, and he stopped at Dhārūr to await their arrival. Further to remove their suspicions A'zam Khān permitted them to bring an escort of 500 men when they came to visit him. On their arrival at Dhārūr A'zam Khān extended an honourable reception to them, and presented them with twenty-four horses and twenty robes of honour.[15]

Negotiations between Randola and A'zam Khān.

During the conference which followed the formal meeting, Randola Khān requested A'zam Khān to hand over Dhārūr to him, as being one of the five forts in the Nizāmshāhī country, which the Emperor had promised to give to the 'Ādilshāh. But A'zam Khān declined the request, first, because Randola Khān had failed to cooperate with him in his struggle with the Nizāmshāhīs, and secondly, because the possession of Dhārūr was, in the circumstances, of vital importance to the Moghuls. But A'zam Khān promised to forward his request to court, in the event of his cooperation in his further activities against the enemy.[16] But Randola Khān did not wish to give any help to the Moghuls and so the conference ended in a fiasco.

Randola Khān's demands rejected.

Again, when in pursuit of Muqarrab Khān A'zam Khān arrived at Shāhgadh, he asked Randola Khān to prevent the enemy from crossing the Bālāghāt. But the latter excused himself on the ground of paucity of numbers, and replied that he was going to Naldrug to equip himself there, and to wait for further instructions from his government.[17]

Treaty between Randola Khān and Muqarrab Khān.

15See Chapter VI n. 24.

16 Qazvīnī, f. 212 b.

17 Qazvīnī, f. 213; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 355.

Meanwhile he received a tempting offer from Muqarrab Khān who promised to cede Sholāpūr in return for help against the Moghuls.[18] By this time the influence of Mustafā Khān had declined, and misunderstanding had arisen between him and Khawās Khān. This was Randola Khān's opportunity, and he prevailed upon the latter to accept the terms of Muqarrab Khān. An immediate consequence of this changed atmosphere was that Shaykh Mu'īnuddīn, who was coming with presents from Bījāpūr, was detained and imprisoned in Bīdar. Khawās Khān deprived the Imperial messenger of all his belongings, and he ultimately saved himself by flight.[19]

Randola Khān falls upon the unwary Moghuls.

After Fath Khān's return to power, Randola Khān once more approached A'zam Khān with proposals of peace; and promised that if his master were pardoned for his delinquency, he would never turn against the Moghuls, and would allow Shaykh Mu'īnuddīn to leave Bīdar with the presents for the Emperor.[20] To find out whether Randola Khān really meant what he affirmed, A'zam Khān marched towards Bhālkī with the intention of sacking it, if he found Randola Khān otherwise disposed. But while A'zam Khān was pitching his camp on the bank of the Manjīra river, he was surprised by Randola Khān, who fell upon a contingent led by Bahādur Khān who was wounded and captured. A'zam Khān was compelled to beat a hasty retreat from within two stages of Bhālkī, and retired to Nānder to pass the rainy season.[21] Thus the negotiations with Randola Khān did not fructify, and the

18 Qazvīnī, f. 213b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 358.

19 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 379; Qazvīnī, f. 213 b; Basātīn-us-Salātīn says that Mu'īnuddīn was detained because of the attack on Dhārūr, which the Imperialists made in contravention to the terms of the treaty with Bījāpūr (f. 46); Hadīqat says that the envoy was detained because the Imperialists plundered the Bījāpūr frontier, and that the Qutbshāh sent money for the expenses of Mu'īnuddīn (f. 248 b).

20 Qazvīnī, f. 229 b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 379.

21 Qazvīnī, f. 230; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 380-81.

relations between the Moghuls and Bījāpūr continued to be strained.

It was after the submission of Fath Khān that Shāhjahān was able to turn his attention to the 'Ādilshāh. On December 3, 1631, he dismissed Āsaf Khān to invade Bījāpūr with practically the entire army, which had recently been campaigning in Ahmadnagar. From Kandhār to Bhālkī the progress of the Imperialists was uninterrupted. At Bhālkī the garrison offered resistance, but they were easily overcome.[22] At Kamlāpūr Āsaf Khān received an 'Ādilshāhī messenger, Rizqullah, who brought a letter in which the 'Ādilshāh expressed repentance for his conduct, requested for pardon, and promised to pay an indemnity. But as Rizqullah was not an accredited messenger of the 'Ādilshāh, Āsaf Khān did not attach much importance to his mission, and dismissed him.[23] The journey to Bījāpūr was resumed, and on the way the Imperialists plundered the town and massacred the population of Gulberga.[24] On the Bhīma, Āsaf Khān reviewed his army, which numbered 30,000.

Āsaf Khān ordered to invade Bījāpūr.

The Imperialists encamped between Nauraspūr and Shāhpūr, and opened the siege of Bījāpūr.[25] Daily skirmishes occurred between the besiegers and the garrison, and an incessant fire from the fort prevented the Moghuls from advancing further. Meanwhile some 'Ādilshāhī officers opened negotiations for a peaceful settlement with the invaders. First came Shaykh Dabīr, and made certain proposals on behalf of Khawās Khān, but they were summarily rejected.[26] Upon this the Bījāpurī nobles prevailed upon Mustafā Khān to mediate

The Imperialists advance uninterrupted.

22 Lāhaurī, pp. 411-12; Qazvīnī, f. 242.

23 Qazvīnī, f. 242 b.

24 Qazvīnī, f. 242 b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 413; Hadīqat-us-Salātīn, f. 249.

25 Ibid.

26 Qazvīnī, f. 243 b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 414.

a peace with the Moghuls, because he was considered to possess some influence with them.[27]

In fact Mustafā Khān was already in correspondence with Āsaf Khān, and sometimes even held out wild promises of support. On one occasion he sent word through his adopted son, Ālī Rizā, that he was ready to admit the Imperialists into the fort through his trenches, but later he retracted, notwithstanding the fact that he had taken many oaths to abide by the promise.[2] His duplicity made Āsaf Khān distrustful of him, and he insisted that he would make no contract until Mustafa Khān and Khairiyat Khān came personally to confirm its terms. Accordingly both of them came out of the fort at night, and were received at the gate by Nasīrī Khān.[29]

Negotiations for peace.

After a protracted discussion it was settled that the 'Ādilshāh should pay four millions of rupees as indemnity, partly in cash and partly in jewellery and other valuables. A document embodying these conditions was drawn up, and Mustafā Khān returned to the fort to get it properly sealed and confirmed by his master. Āsaf Khān's servant 'Abdur Rīhān accompanied Mustafā Khān to bring back the document. Further in token of his goodwill the 'Ādilshāh surrendered Bahādur Khān and Yūsuf Khān, who had been captured by his officers on a previous occasion.[30]

Mustafā Khān settles the terms.

But when Mustafā Khān revealed the terms of the treaty to Khawās Khān, the latter declined to accept them. He was moreover supported in his attitude by many of the nobles. Khawās Khān detained 'Abdur Rīhān for two days, and then sent word through him that the agreement duly signed would be sent

Khawās Khān repudiates them.

27 Futūhāt-i-'Ādilshāhī, f. 323 b; Hadīqat-us-Salātīn, f. 249.

28 Qazvīnī, f. 243 b-44; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 414—16; Futūhāt i-'Ādilshāhī, f. 323 b.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid.

through his own representatives. When the latter came, they offered fresh terms which were accepted by Āsaf Khān. They promised to send the agreement the following day.[31]

But the prolonging of negotiations was merely a device of Khawās Khān to gain time, and also correct information of the conditions prevailing in the Moghul camp, of which he had got an inkling. When once he became certain of the weakness of the Imperialists, he broke his word and attacked the Moghul soldiers who had entered the town to make purchases.[32]

Khawās Khān's trick.

Āsaf Khān's eagerness to conclude peace with the 'Ādilshāh was dictated by the considerations of the misery of his followers, who were suffering from scarcity. He had very foolishly advanced into the heart of the enemy's country without making suitable arrangements for the maintenance of supplies. For once his generalship was brought to the test, and he gave a sorry display of his abilities. The 'Ādilshāh before the arrival of the Imperialists had completely ravaged the neighbouring districts, so that during the siege corn was hardly procurable by them. So terrible was the scarcity that a seer was sold for one rupee, and fodder was not to be had at all.[33] It was these conditions which changed the attitude of Khawās Khān and led him to disregard the might of the Moghul army.

Āsaf Khān's mistakes.

When his representatives were leaving the Moghul camp, one of Mustafā Khān's men, who had accompanied them, dropped a note to inform the Imperialists of the duplicity of Khawās Khān.[34] Of necessity Āsaf Khān had to break up his camp, and to retire towards the districts where he could feed his men. On the way the Moghuls indulged in wanton outrages. They

Āsaf Khān's retreat.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.

33 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 416; Qazvīnī, f. 244.

34 See n. 28.

sacked and plundered the towns they passed through, and enslaved women and children wholesale.[35] Thus revenging themselves on the innocent, and leaving misery and desolation in their wake, they reached Bīḍ, pursued by a Bījāpūr army.[36] The invasion proved a dismal failure, and the 'Ādilshāh had not been humbled.

The Emperor returned to the north, after appointing Mahābat Khān as the Viceroy of the Deccan. During his siege of Daulatābād he was constantly harassed by Randola Khān, Shāhjī and others. But after the conquest of that fort he was overpowered by the ambition of seizing Parenda which, though it originally belonged to the Nizāmshāh, was surrendered to the 'Ādilshāh in 1632 by its commander Āqā Rizā.[37] Mahābat Khān wrote to the Emperor that the reduction of Daulatābād had created consternation and dismay among the Deccan powers, and that it was a suitable opportunity to humble Bījāpūr. He further submitted that his own men were tired, and so if a prince were deputed with fresh troops to undertake the campaign, success was absolutely certain.[38]

Mahābat Khān's ambition to conquer Parenda.

That Mahābat Khān was entirely mistaken in his calculations is beyond doubt. In the height of satisfaction brought by his recent achievement—and certainly the reduction of Daulatābād was a deed of no small magnitude—he made a low estimate of the strength of Bījāpūr, and altogether ignored the troubles which were brewing in Ahmadnagar itself. As to the Emperor, he was not aware of the real situation in the Deccan, and fully trusted to the judgment of the man on the spot, especially, since that man was Mahābat Khān. Moreover, as the latter's ambi-

His mistaken calculations.

35 Futūhāt says that Shāhjahān was much displeased at Āsaf Khān's failure, but the latter placated the Emperor by offering him valuable presents (f. 324).

36 Basātīn says that Murārī Pandit pursued the Moghul army (f. 46).

37 See Chapter VI, n. 47.

38 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 537; Qazvīnī, f. 300.

tion coincided with the Moghul Imperialistic policy, Shāhjahān did not hesitate to accede to his request.

Accordingly, Prince Shujā' was promoted to the command of 10,000 *zāt* and 10,000 *suwār*, and was despatched to the Deccan with an imposing array of men. The Emperor personally wished him success and ordered him to leave the palace on a *rath* or light bullock cart. Of the *amīrs* and *mansabdārs* who accompanied the prince, mention should be made of Sayyid Khān Jahān, Rājā Jai Singh, Raja Vithaldās, Allah Vardī Khān, and Rashīd Khān Ansārī. One thousand *ahadis*, one thousand musketeers and an innumerable host of footmen completed the train. For the expenses of the campaign a quarter of a million of rupees were advanced from the royal exchequer, and an assignment for another hundred and fifty thousand was given on the Mālwa treasury.[39]

Prince Shujā' sent to the Deccan.

When Prince Shujā' arrived in the Deccan, Mahābat Khān met him on the way, and counselled him to march directly to Parenda.[40] From Malkāpūr, Khān Zamān was despatched to sack the frontier districts of Bījāpūr in order to prevent the passage of reinforcements to Parenda by depriving them of supplies.[41] To secure his own line of communication with Burhānpūr, Mahābat Khān established outposts at Zafarnagar, Jālnāpūr, Shāhgadh and Bīḍ—each of these being effectively guarded by a contingent of troops.[42]

Went direct to Parenda.

The campaign, unfortunately, was complicated from the very start. Shāhjī discovered a relative of the Nizāmshāh, and declared him King.[43] He thus attracted to his banner all those who still had some regard for the late dynasty, and who bore a grudge against

Shāhjī's activities.

39 Qazvīnī, ff. 300 b-301; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 537—39.
40 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 34; Qazvīnī, f. 319 b.
41 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 35; Qazvīnī, f. 319 b-20.
42 Ibid.
43 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 36; Qazvīnī, f. 320.

the Moghuls, whom Shāhjī was now bent upon driving out of the Deccan. Being an ally of Bījāpūr, he naturally planned his activities to relieve the pressure on Parenda. He attempted to intercept the Moghul line at Zafarnagar, but the Prince despatched Khawās Khān with three thousand men to repel Shāhjī, to pursue him to Junnār, to sack his home in Chamārgunda, and to control him effectively from Sangamnīr.[44]

Khān Zamān's failure.

Khān Zamān arrived at Parenda and encamped on the bank of a rivulet which flowed within two miles of the fort. He sent out his men to obtain fodder and hay from the neighbouring districts. He distributed commands among his officers, and entrusted to Allah Vardī Khān the work of laying mines under the fortifications and establishing batteries. The garrison tried to impede Allah Vardī Khān's progress by opening fire on his men, but they advanced under cover of their big guns. Nevertheless, the chances of success were as distant as ever. Mahābat Khān despatched Rājā Vithaldās to second the efforts of Khān Zamān, but the situation did not improve.[45]

Supplies run short in the Imperial camp.

At length Mahābat Khān himself left Malkāpūr and marched with the Prince to Parenda.[46] They encamped within a short distance of the fort to protect their own line of retreat and to prevent reinforcements from reaching the garrison. But the crowding of the Moghuls at one spot created insurmountable difficulties. In spite of all the precautions taken by Mahābat Khān supplies in the Imperial camp ran short, and it became necessary to send foraging parties to distant places. This gave an opportunity to the enemy to practise their guerilla tactics, to intercept the Imperial convoys, and to reduce the Moghuls to the very verge of starvation.

44 Ibid.

45 Qazvīnī, f. 320b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 36—39.

46 Ibid.

Mahābat Khān's narrow escape.

On one occasion Mahābat Khān himself was hemmed in by the enemy with about 10,000 men. His vanguard, led by Maheshdās Rāthor and Raghunāth Bhatt, closed with the assailants and was destroyed to a man. This loss reduced Mahābat Khān to an awkward situation, but fortunately Khān Daurān appeared to his aid in time. His arrival disheartened the enemy, and they broke up and fled.[47] Such surprise attacks occurred very frequently and were a constant source of annoyance to the Imperialists.

Courageous resistance by the garrison of Parenda.

Moreover, the garrison also performed their duty with great alertness. They discovered every mine laid beneath the fortification, and either removed the powder and repaired the mine, or flooded the powder with water.[48] But after some time a mine in the trenches of Allah Vardī Khān was completed and charged without attracting the attention of the garrison. It was exploded in the presence of the Prince, and although it blew up a bastion, it did not make a practicable breach.[49] This failure damped the ardour of the besiegers, and the chances of repeating the attempt grew extremely remote.

Causes of Mahābat Khān's retreat.

To add to this great ill-feeling sprang up between Mahābat Khān and Khān Daurān, who always bragged of his having rescued the former.[50] Mahābat Khān became petulant and by his discourtesy aggrieved other officers as well. The latter in a body turned against him, and neglected no opportunity of means to checkmate his schemes. Despairing of success in these circumstances, he advised the Prince to raise the siege Accordingly, the Imperialists struck their camp and retreated to Burhānpūr.[51]

47 Qazvīnī, ff. 321 b-22; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 39—42.
48 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 45; Qazvīnī, f. 324.
49 Qazvīnī, ff. 324-25; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 45.
50 Ibid.
51 Ibid.

This failure at Parenda, after his signal success at Daulatābād, smote Mahābat Khān with shame. The Emperor censured him strongly, and ordered the immediate return of Prince Shujā' with the entire army.[52] Mahābat Khān was already in the decline of his life, and this open disgrace told heavily on his health. He was suffering from fistula, and the malady was now aggravated. The flight of his son Khān Zamān to court added to his depression, and towards the end his mind began to fail. He became incontinent, and encamped outside Burhānpūr to repeat his attempt against Parenda. But his growing weakness made him despondent, and in a fit of desperation he distributed 4,000 *ashrafīs* among his followers, sealed the balance of his hoard, and forwarded it to court. Soon after, death ended[53] his glorious but tragic career in October 1634.

His death.

His death occasioned grave disorder in the Deccan, and Shāhjī became active once more. But nothing is heard of any aggression on the part of Bījāpūr. The reason is not far to seek. The kingdom was at this time distracted by factious quarrels between Mustafā Khān and Khawās Khān. The latter had seized control of the government and was coming to blows with everyone. His right-hand man was Murārī Pandit, whom Khawās Khān trusted implicitly and honoured highly. The king became a mere puppet in his hands and signed orders at his dictation. At last, he induced Muhammad 'Ādilshāh to order Mustafā Khān to hand over the Royal Seal, which had been in the latter's charge since the reign of Ibrāhīm II. When he refused, Khawās Khān had him imprisoned.[54]

Distractions in Bījāpūr.

[52] Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 47; Qazvīnī, f. 325 b.

[53] Qazvīnī (f. 332b) and Lāhaurī (pp. 59-60 Vol. I, Pt. II) only briefly refer to the death of Mahābat Khān. The latter records the chronogram of Mu'tamid Khān, 'Peace set in.' For a detailed life of this great general see Maāsir-ul-Umarā, Vol. III, pp. 385—407; Hadīqat us Salātīn, ff. 265-66.

[54] Futūhāt-i-'Ādilshāhī, ff. 332—34 b.

When Shāhjahān arrived in Bundelkhand and the news of his intended march to the Deccan reached Khawās Khān, he sent Shaykh Dabīr to the Moghul court with costly presents including one sapphire priced at 30,000 huns. But when the high-handedness of Khawās Khān was brought to the notice of the Emperor he declined to receive the envoy.[55] From Hindiya Shāhjahān addressed a *farmān* to the 'Ādilshāh and sent it with Makramat Khān.[56] Its contents are interesting, for they reveal a curious mixture of threat and courtesy, persuasiveness and warning. They vividly portray the circumstances which shaped Shāhjahān's policy towards Bījāpūr, how he was willing to grant concessions to the 'Ādilshāh, and how he was equally ready to enforce his will by arms, should need arise.

Khawās Khān's attempt to placate Shāhjahān.

But before giving further details of these transactions, it is necessary to note some events in the history of Bījāpūr, which influenced its relations with the Moghuls. After imprisoning Mustafā Khān, Khawās Khān began to indulge in wild excesses. Resentment against him grew apace, and a party led by Sīdī Rīhān, later styled Ikhlās Khān, began to oppose him openly. With the active support of Randola Khān, Sīdī Rīhān contrived the murder of Khawās Khān, and meted out the same fate to his favourite, Murārī Pandit.[57] An immediate result of the murder of Khawās Khān was that Mustafā Khān was released and appointed *Peshwā*. But the atmosphere in the Bījāpūr court remained for some time charged with doubts and suspicions.

Khawās Khān's downfall and murder.

55 Futūhāt-i-'Ādilshāhī, f. 331; But Qazvīnī (f. 355) and Lāhaurī (Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 118) says that he was well received at court, and Shāhjahān even honoured him.

56 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 126—30.

57 Futūhāt-i-'Ādilshāhī, ff. 335—41; according to Hadīqat-us-Salātīn 'Abdullah Qutbshāh also took part in bringing about the downfall and death of Khawās Khān (ff. 267b—70).

When Makramat Khān arrived at Bījāpūr, he found a strange situation there. Nevertheless, Muhammad 'Ādilshāh extended to him an honourable reception, and came out to Baḍkheḍa to welcome him.[58] Meanwhile Mustafā Khān after his return to power, despatched his own son-in-law Abul Hasan to apologise to the Emperor for the recent faithless conduct of the 'Ādilshāh. He was accompanied by Qāzī Abu Sa'īd, the representative of Randola Khān. The envoys were admitted to audience through Āsaf Khān, and laid before the Emperor the presents which they had brought from Bījāpūr.[59]

Makramat Khān's report.

But the unfavourable report of Makramat Khān, who noticed a hostile feeling among the Bījāpūr nobles, changed the mind of Shāhjahān, and he ordered his officers to invade Bījāpūr.[60] If it was intended to strike terror into the heart of the 'Ādilshāh, the rapacious activities of the three Moghul generals[61] who carried fire and sword through that unfortunate country, accomplished that object completely. Both Mustafā Khān and Randola Khān were now united in their desire to conclude peace with the Emperor. They instructed their representatives to expedite the conclusion of the treaty with the Moghuls ; but when Āsaf Khān presented the 'Ādilshāhī envoys to the Emperor (there were four of them now staying at the Moghul court),[62] he bitterly complained to them of the faltering attitude of the 'Ādilshāh, and his rage grew to such a point that he ordered the execution of Shaykh Dabīr and Shāh Dāūd, who had been sent to the royal court by Khawās Khān, but their lives were spared at the intercession of Āsaf Khān.[63]

Bījāpūr devastated and humbled.

58 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 144; Qazvīnī, f. 368.

59 Qazvīnī, f. 367 b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 143.

60 Qazvīnī, f. 368; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 144.

61 For the activities of these generals see Qazvīnī, ff. 371—77 and Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 151—65.

62 They were Shāh Dāūd, Shaykh Dabīr, Qāzī Abu Sa'īd and Mīr Abul Hasan.

63 Futūhāt-i-'Ādilshāhī, f. 348 b.

Undaunted by the fury of the Emperor, Abul Hasan continued his exertions to placate and satisfy him in all respects.

Abul Hasan's efforts to conclude peace; the treaty.

At last, Shāhjahān agreed to conclude peace, and the terms of the treaty were drawn up. The 'Ādilshāh was to recognise the Moghul sovereignty, to pay two millions of rupees as peace offering, to maintain peace with Golconda, and to submit it to the Emperor's arbitration as regards his quarrel with the Qutb-shāh. Further, Shāhjahān defined the boundaries of Bījāpūr, and assigned a part of the Nizāmshāhī territories to the 'Ādilshāh. And finally, each side undertook not to seduce the officers of the other from their master's side ; and the 'Ādilshāh agreed to cooperate with the Moghuls in reducing Shāhjī to submission, if he did not surrender Junnār and Trimbek. When these terms were confirmed by Muhammad 'Ādilshāh, Shāhjahān sent to him on May 6, 1636, "a solemn *farmān* impressed with the mark of the emperor's palm dipped in vermilion, and promising with an appeal to God and the Prophet, fulfilment of the conditions laid down therein." Makramat Khān arrived with presents from Bījāpūr on July 11, of the same year.[64]

Shāhjahān censures the conduct of the 'Ādilshāh; for the first time.

Henceforward, until the death of Muhammad 'Ādilshāh relations between the Moghul and the 'Ādilshāhī courts remained, on the whole, peaceful. There were, however, two occasions when Shāhjahān had to sound a note of warning to the 'Ādilshāh. In 1642-43 the ruler of Bījāpūr, resenting the overgrown power of Mustafā Khān imprisoned him. This displeased Shāhjahān, since Mustafā Khān was a partisan of the Moghuls. Shāhjahān therefore detained the 'Ādilshāhī envoy, Mirzā Rajjab, and sent with him Mirzā Muzaffar Husain Khawāfī with orders to the 'Ādilshāh to release Mustafā Khān. When the Imperial envoy

[64] Qazvīnī, ff. 381—83 b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I. Pt. II, pp. 167—74; Futūhāt-i-'Ādilshāhī, ff. 349—51.

reached Bījāpūr, Muhammad 'Ādilshāh obeyed the Emperor's commands, and reinstated Mustafā Khān.[65]

The peace which Muhammad 'Ādilshāh purchased by his obedience to the Moghul Emperor proved to be very beneficial to his country. Being free from the anxiety of encroachments from the north, he extended his territories by conquering the Southern Carnatic. "Thus during his reign the Kingdom of Bījāpūr attained to its highest extent, power and magnificence. His dominions stretched from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal across the entire Indian peninsula."[66] Shāhjahān recognised this fact and conferred on him the title of Shāh[67] in 1648. The new honour increased the vanity of the Bījāpūr king, and he began to hold his court in a lofty palace outside the citadel, witnessed elephant combats in an open plain, and conferred the title of Khān Khānān on his premier noble.[68] Upon this Shāhjahān addressed to him a letter of admonition. Muhammad 'Ādilshāh meekly yielded, and gave up his audacious practices.[69] This was the second occasion of Shāhjahān's displeasure.

For the second time.

Muhammad 'Ādilshāh died on November 4, 1656, and was succeeded by his son 'Alī. Prince Aurangzīb was at this time the Viceroy of the Deccan, and cast longing eyes on Bījāpūr. He persuaded his father to sanction an invasion of that Kingdom,[70] because the new ruler was of an obscure parentage and the country was suffering from grave disorder. Shāhjahān desired his son "to march with Mīr Jumla to the

Aurangzīb's invasion of Bījāpūr.

65 Futūhāt-i-'Ādilshāhī, ff. 399—400 b; Lāhaurī only mentions the arrival of Mīr Rajjab and his departure with Muzaffar Husain (Vol. II, pp. 335-336).

66 Sarkār, 'History of Aurangzīb,' Vol. I, p. 255.

67 Sarkār, 'History of Aurangzīb,' Vol. I, p. 255.

68 Ibid., p. 256.

69 Ibid., pp. 256—58.

70 Ibid., p. 262.

Bījāpūr frontier and conquer the whole kingdom if possible: otherwise, to annex that portion of the old Ahmadnagar Kingdom which had been ceded to Bījāpūr by the treaty of 1636, and to spare the territory of Bījāpūr proper, on payment of an indemnity of fifteen millions of rupees and the recognition of the emperor's suzerainty, viz., the issuing of coins in his name, and the public reading of his titles from the pulpit at Bījāpūr." If the latter alternative were carried out, Aurangzīb was to employ the vast army assembled under his banner in the conquest of Golconda.

The Prince began the campaign by seducing a large number of the 'Ādilshāhī officers by bribing them heavily. He then entered Bījāpūr and laid siege to Bīdar. The fort was courageously defended by Sīdī Marjān, but when he was seriously wounded by a sudden explosion, his followers gave way. The next place to be invested was Kaliyānī, which also fell after standing a siege of four months. The way to Bījāpūr was now open. But suddenly Aurangzīb received orders to close the war, and he concluded a treaty with the 'Ādilshāh, whereby the latter agreed to pay the amount of indemnity fixed by the Emperor, and to cede Bīdar, Kaliyānī, Parenda, and all other forts in the Nizāmshāhī Konkan, and the other districts of Wangī.

Golconda.

Sultān Qulī Qutbshāh was the last chief to throw off allegiance to the Bahmanid house,[71] and the dynasty which he founded, though not distinguished for the courage and bravery of its members, can certainly claim credit for the development of the peaceful arts. Most of the kings of this house were addicted to lascivious pleasures, and this accounts for their meek and submissive attitude to their neighbours, not to speak of the Moghul Emperor. In the history of this dynasty we do not very frequently come across any signal military victories won

71 Tārīkh-Muhammad Qutbshāhī says that Qutbulmulk assumed independence at the instance of Ahmad Bahrī and the 'Ādil Khān (f. 25).

by the Qutbshāhī monarchs. On the contrary the flight of the Golconda Kings from the field of battle is an event of not infrequent occurrence, yet there is something quite inexplicable in the annals of this kingdom, which moves one to admiration as well as to sympathy.

Akbar's contemporary was Muhammad Qulī Qutbshāh the fifth ruler of the dynasty. And although the Deccan historians do not record of his relations with the Great Moghul, in the Akbarnāma there is occasional mention of the receipt of presents from Golconda.[72] In itself the fact is not of any significance, because friendly exchange of presents was a part of the time-honoured etiquette among mediaeval sovereigns. It does not necessarily indicate subordination, or the acknowledgment of suzerainty During the reign of Jahāngīr first Muhammad Qulī, and then his successor Muhammad Qutbshāh, consistently supported Malik 'Ambar against the Moghuls. They helped him mostly with money, unlike Bījāpūr which sent its armies to him. It was the pressure of Prince Shāhjahān which on two occasions separated Muhammad Qutbshāh from the Nizāmshāh, and the fact is that the former was averse to embroiling himself with Deccan politics.

Contact with the Moghuls.

Unfortunately, no detailed record of the reign of Md. Qutbshāh has come down to us, and the contemporary Moghul chroniclers are our only source of information. But they do not throw much light on the internal history of the kingdom. In relation to the Moghuls the only important event is that in 1621 Muhammad Qutbshāh agreed to pay two millions of rupees as tribute, his share of it being the heaviest, for Bījāpūr had to pay one hundred and eighty thousand, and Ahmadnagar only one hundred and twenty thousand. When Prince Shāhjahān rebelled, a year after, the Golconda King allowed him to pass through his territories to Orissa, and even helped him with money.[73]

Md. Qutbshāh

72 Akbarnāma, Vol. III, pp. 440, 909, 990, 1171, and 1256.

73 Beni Prasad, 'History of Jahāngīr,' p. 335.

Muhammad Qutbshāh died on January 31, 1626, and was succeeded by his son 'Abdullah, a child of eleven and a half years old. In accordance with the time-honoured custom, contemporary sovereigns sent envoys to congratulate the new king on his accession. Ibrāhīm 'Ādilshāh II sent Shāh Abul Hasan, and Murtazā Nizāmshāh II sent Shāh Mīr Ja'fer. Though Shāhjahān was not yet a king, in recognition of his gratefulness to the late sovereign, he sent Ikhlās Khān Qazvīnī to Golconda. The latter was received there with honour, and was dismissed after the due formalities had been performed.[74]

'Abdulla and Shāhjahān.

The administration of the kingdom during the minority of the Sultān was carried on by a council of officers who were mutually jealous. After the death of Muhammad Qutbshāh, Shāh Muhammad was appointed Peshwā, but as it was beyond his capacity to discharge the responsibilities alone, he was associated in his post with Shaykh Muhammad, who was given the title of Assistant Peshwā, and the post of Dabīr. Mansūr, an illiterate Abyssinian was appointed Mīr Jumla. He patronised the Brahmans, and allowed them a free hand in financial affairs.[75] These appointments have been mentioned, because they have an indirect bearing on the relations between the Qutbshāh and the Moghul Emperor.

Minority administration.

After his accession Shāhjahān sent Shaykh Muhīuddīn to Golconda, who on his arrival near the capital was welcomed by Mīr Qāsim. During his stay at the Qutb-Shāhī court misunderstanding arose between him and Shāh Muhammad, who did not accord him proper treatment. But the latter was soon dismissed, and was succeeded by Shaykh Muhammad, who was both able and astute. He wished to enforce court etiquette strictly, and this was resented by Shaykh Muhīuddīn who behaved

Embassy of Muhīuddīn.

74 Hadīqat-us-Salātīn, f. 209.

75 Hadīqat, f. 211.

discourteously to him. Shaykh Muhammad wrote to Āsaf Khān to complain of the latter's conduct, and Shaykh Muhīuddīn was censured.[76] When Shāhjahān arrived in the Deccan, the envoy accompanied by Wafā Khān returned with presents from Golconda,[77] which were laid before the Emperor on March 23, 1631.

Qutbshāh alarmed: Reduction of Khed Pāra.

The presence of a large army in the Deccan, and especiallv the siege of Kandhār by Nasīrī Khān, alarmed the Qutbshāh, and he despatched Ādam Khān Habashī the 'Ainulmulk and Allah Qulī Turk Sardār to Kaulās, to patrol the frontiers against Moghul encroachments. But nothing occurred in this quarter to mar the amicable relations between the two monarchs.[78] On the other hand, Bāqar Khān Najm Sānī, the warlike governor of Orissa, occupied the fort of Mansūrgadh, in December 1630. It seems that he wanted to penetrate further into the Qutbshāhī territories, and early in 1631 he defeated some officers sent against him. But when 'Abdullah brought this to the notice of Shāhjahān, he ordered Bāqar Khān to retire from the frontier.[79]

Shāh 'Alī Beg sent to Golconda.

Shāhjahān soon dismissed Wafā Khān, and with him sent Shāh 'Alī Beg, a commander of one thousand. On the way Wafā Khān died at the advanced age of eighty, and Shāh 'Alī Beg proceeded alone to Haidarābād.[80] Near the capital he was received by Fasīhuddīn Mahammad, and was admitted to the audience of the Shāh on November 24, 1631. He presented the letter which he had brought from Shāhjahān, in which the latter demanded a huge sum of money from the Qutbshāh

76 Hadīqat, f. 231.

77 Qazvīnī, f. 222 b; Hadīqat, f. 237; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 366-67.

78 Hadīqat, f. 249 b.

79 Hadīqat, ff. 237b—39; Qazvīnī, ff. 206-7; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 332—34.

80 Hadīqat, f. 249 b.

as also some jewels. 'Abdullah, or rather his advisers, were reluctant to comply with the demands, but they were also afraid of the military prowess of the Moghul Emperor. Luckily for him, the entire army, at this time, was engaged under Āsaf Khān in the Bījāpūr campaign, and the Qutbshāh was watching with eagerness the result of their activities. Meanwhile he humoured the envoy by promises, and detained him in spite of Shāhjahān's repeated summons to send him back. But when the Qutbshāh received the report of the discomfiture of the Moghul army in Bījāpūr, he dismissed Shāh 'Alī Beg unceremoniously.[81]

Celebrations in Golconda and other events.

The return of Shāhjahān to the north was celebrated with great festivities in Golconda[82] and for the next four years there occurred little interference on the part of the Moghuls. 'Abdullah, too, wanted to hold himself aloof, and when Muhammed 'Ādilshāh asked him to cooperate with him in his efforts to relieve Daulatābād, which was besieged by Mahābat Khān he kept silent.[83] On the other hand, the Qutbshāh took a very active part in bringing about the downfall of Khawās Khān, who was notorious for his anti-Moghul policy.[84] Again, when 'Abdullah Khān Fīroz Jang and Khān Daurān arrived on the frontiers of the Golconda Kingdom in pursuit of Jujhār Singh, and demanded the surrender of the surviving relations of the deceased rebel, the Qutbshāh obeyed. But this submission was inspired by fear, since the report of Shāhjahān's march to Daulatābād had reached Golconda.[85]

[81] Hadīqat, ff. 250-51.

[82] Hadīqat, f. 251—53.

[83] Hadīqat, f. 264 b.

[84] Hadīqat, ff. 268—70.

[85] Hadīqat, f. 272; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 139.

Change in the relations between the Qutbshāh and the Moghuls.

Thus we find that fear, more than anything else, influenced the diplomatic relations between the Moghuls and the Qutbshāh. But it was an age of militarism, and nothing else could be expected. The Qutbshāh was very reluctant to resort to arbitration by the sword, and he always warded off the evil day by means of money. The wealth of Golconda, having once attracted the notice of Shāhjahān, his demands grew higher and higher and his threats stronger and stronger. But with his second arrival in the Deccan, a new phase in the history of the relations between the two States becomes visible. So far he had been content with the occasional remittance of presents by the Qutbshāh, as a formal acknowledgment of his suzerainty, but now he wanted something more.

Nature of the Golconda sovereignty.

At this stage it will not be out of place to refer briefly to the political status of the kingdom of Golconda. The first king Sultān Qulī Qutbshāh read the *Khutba* in his own name, and established Shīa'ism as state religion. His successors followed the same practice, and unlike the rulers of Bījāpūr or Ahmadnagar they did not come in touch with Persia till the beginning of the seventeenth century. We read of the arrival of a Persian envoy at Golconda in 1603, who brought a *tāj* for Muhammad Qulī Qutbshāh. The latter sent first Qambar 'Alī and then Mehdī Qulī Sultan Tālish, to pay compliments to the Shāh.[86] Henceforward there was a frequent exchange of envoys between the two courts. One result of the closer association of the two powers was that in Golconda the name of the Shāh was included in the *Khutba*. When this change occurred cannot be definitely said, but the practice was in existence when Shāhjahān complained of it. In short, the temporal and spiritual loyalty of Golconda was divided between the Shāh of Persia and the Moghul Emperor.

86 Tārīkh Muhammad Qutbshāhī (Add 6542) ff. 167-8.

This state of affairs proved intolerable to Shāhjahān. In the first place he was a *Sunnī*, and as such it was his duty to enforce his religious doctrines in his dependencies, and to see that the Companions of the Prophet and the first three Caliphs were not reviled. Secondly, it was a political contradiction to recognise the sovereignty of the Moghul Emperor, and read the *Khutba* in the name of the Persian monarch. The Moghul power was the strongest in India, and hence every other should be subordinate to it. This was the political doctrine of the period. How then could any extra-territorial sympathies be allowed to exist? But the strange part of it is that the doctrine was enforced only on 'Abdullah Qutbshāh, and no account was taken of similar conduct on the part of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh. The reason is not far to seek. The former was meek and obedient, and advantage was taken of his weakness.

Shāhjahān' attempt to enforce his religion.

Accordingly, when Shāhjahān arrived at Hindiya, on the other side of the Narbada, he despatched 'Abdul Latīf Gujarātī to Golconda. The letter which he carried makes interesting reading. It opens with a formal demand for the abolition of Shīa'ism in Golconda. The Emperor says that as a *Sunnī* monarch it is his duty to eradicate apostasy, and asks 'Abdullah to prohibit the reviling of the Companions and punish those who insist on it; otherwise he would deem it lawful to occupy his country. With regard to the *Khutba* the Emperor says, "Since you profess to be my follower, why should you turn to the Persian King?" And finally there is a demand for the balance of tribute which might be satisfied by sending jewels, ornaments, and elephants like Dāk Samudra and Bisarg. A set time is indicated when the presents were to reach the court, otherwise 'the harm which will befall you and your people, will be due to your own action.'[87]

Shāhjahān's demands

[87] Qazvīnī, ff. 361 b-2 b.

But ere the issue of this *farmān* 'Abdullah had already given proof of his submissive attitude by complying with the demand of 'Abdullah Khān Fīroz Jang and Khān Daurān, who had arrived on the frontier of Golconda in pursuit of Jujhār Singh, and asked him to surrender the relatives of the latter who had taken refuge with him. 'Abdullah sent them with 'Ālam Khān, who presented them to Shāhjahān near Burhānpūr. The Emperor was exceedingly pleased, and dismissed 'Ālam Khān after giving him a horse and a robe of honour.[88] He was followed by another envoy, Mullā Taqīyāī Shīrāzī, who was ordered to march post-haste, and offer presents to the Moghul Emperor. He saw Shāhjahān at Daulatābād.[89]

'Abdullah gives proofs of loyalty.

Shaykh 'Abdul Latīf arrived on the Golconda frontier on February 5, 1636, and was met there by Karīm Khān. Further on his way he was welcomed by Mīr Mui'zzuddīn Mushrif, who accompanied him for some distance. Near Haidarābād he was received by Shaykh Md. Tāhir, who led him to the house assigned for his residence. He was admitted to the audience of the Shāh on February 11. 'Abdullah entertained the envoy lavishly, and began to humour him by mere words.[90] Meanwhile Khān Daurān appeared on the frontier and sacked some districts there, which alarmed the Qutbshāh. He despatched a bevy of officers to guard the frontier, and ordered repairs to the fort of Golconda and other neighbouring strongholds, which he directed should be adequately supplied with firearms and ammunition. Expert gunners were employed to construct and improve the artillery, and large hoards of grain were secured to feed the garrisons in case of invasion. All the roads leading to Golconda were closed and sentries were posted to guard them.[91]

Reception of the Imperial envoy.

88 Hadīqat, f. 272.
89 Ibid., Qazvīnī, f. 367.
90 Qazvīnī, f. 368; Hadīqat, f. 272 b.
91 Hadīqat, f. 273.

But these extensive military preparations did not over-awe Shāhjahān,[92] and he insisted on compliance with his demands, especially that concerning the substitution of his name in the *Khutba*. After great hesitation 'Abdullah agreed to obey the royal orders; but to escape public censure he convened a council of *Qāzīs* and *Ulemās* to seek their advice. They unanimously advised the acceptance of the odious condition, since otherwise much blood would be spilt.[93] Accordingly, 'Abdullah ordered the inclusion of Shāhjahān's name in the *Khutba*, and during 'Abdul Latīf's stay in Golconda repaired to the mosque every Friday to see that his orders were obeyed. The Emperor was satisfied, and ordered Khān Daurān to retire from the Golconda frontier.[94]

'Abdullah obeys the order of Shāhjahān.

'Abdullah dismissed 'Abdul Latīf Gujarātī on May 26, 1636, and sent with him Shaykh Muhammad Tāhir. He gave in writing an agreement which contained the following conditions:

Terms of the treaty.

1. That the names of the Four Companions should explicitly be mentioned in the prayers, the *Khutba* should be recited in the Emperor's name and coins impressed with the Emperor's superscription.
2. That with effect from the 9th regnal year 'Abdullah should pay a yearly tribute of two hundred thousand huns, and should remit the said amount to any prince who should be in charge of the Deccan, or to any other amīr nominated by the emperor. Further, that the balance of eight hundred thousand rupees, out of the total tribute of three million two hundred thousand rupees due from him till the end of the eighth regnal year,

92 Hadīqat says that the Moghul envoy on observing these military preparations counselled his master to be satisfied only with the presents which 'Abdullah had sent (f. 273 b).

93 Hadīqat, f. 274.

94 Hadīqat, f. 274 b.

should be sent together with two hundred thousand huns for the current year, i.e., the ninth year ; and that the difference between the prices of Golconda and the court should immediately be remitted to the royal treasury by the representative. This practice was to continue in the following years.

3. That 'Abdullah undertook to be constantly loyal to the emperor as he had sworn by the *Qorān* in the presence of 'Abdul Latīf ; and if he did otherwise it would be justifiable for the Emperor to conquer his country.

4. That in case of encroachment from Bījāpūr the Imperial representative should help him, otherwise if the 'Ādil-Shāh compelled him to pay any sum of money, the equivalent thereof should be deducted from the royal tribute.[95]

Remarks.

That these conditions were harsh is needless to say, and only the cowardice of 'Abdullah and his advisers can explain his craven submission. In fact, the Qutb-shāh was more obedient than his contemporary and neighbour the 'Ādilshāh ; yet the terms granted to the latter were more generous. No interference with the religious practices of Bījāpūr was made, and no regular tribute imposed. On the whole, Md. 'Ādil-Shāh was treated with greater consideration than 'Abdulla Qutb-Shāh, who believed in pleasing the Moghul Emperor even at the sacrifice of his honour and religious convictions. But the truth is that these terms were wrung from him at the point of the bayonet.

'Abdullah's presents to Shāhjahān.

Shāhjahān waited for the arrival of the envoys at Daulatabād, and when they arrived near that town they were received by Shāh 'Alī Beg, the camp Kotwāl, Mirzā Jān Qulī, and Afzal Khān. Shaykh Tāhir laid before the Emperor the presents he had brought from his master, which consisted of

[95] Qazvīnī, f. 368 ; 382b-83b ; Hadīqat, ff. 272—77.

jewellery, precious stones, a few thousand *ashrafis* and rupees coined in Shāhjahān's name, one hundred elephants, and fifty horses with gold trappings, the whole valued at six hundred thousand rupees. The Qutbshāhī envoy had the rare honour of being invited to the *Ghuslkhāna*, where Shāhjahān showed him his collection of jewels. He accompanied the royal camp up to Māndū, where he was given leave to return. With him the Emperor sent Khvāja Tāhir, who died on the way at Burhānpūr. He was replaced by Khvāja Zāhid. The two reached Golconda in the last part of December 1636, or early in January of the following year. Khvāja Zāhid on behalf of the Emperor presented to 'Abdullah Qutbshāh an elephant with gold trappings, fifty pieces of cloth, a rosary of pearls, and emeralds, Shāhjahān's portrait set in a beautiful frame, and a golden tablet with the terms of the treaty inscribed on it. The Imperial envoy returned after a short time.[96]

Contents of the agreement.

The contents of the agreement inscribed on the gold tablet above mentioned are very interesting inasmuch as the conditions laid down in it were more often broken than observed. In brief they were as follows: "As you have obeyed our commands, and have read the *Khutba* in *Sunnī* style, and struck coins in our name, and have promised to continue this practice, and also to remit a fixed yearly tribute together with two *lacs* of *huns*, equivalent to eight *lacs* of rupees which you paid to the Nizāmulmulk, we hereby pass over your offences and assign your country to you. Further, we promise by God and His prophet that so long as you and your successors abide by these conditions, we and our sons and successors shall not inflict any harm on your country: and that nothing shall be done contrary to the conditions inscribed herein."[97] But all this, as will appear from the later history of the relations with Golconda, was to be treated by the Moghul emperor as merely a 'scrap of paper.'

96 Qazvīnī, f. 388b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 210.

97 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp 210-11.

For the next eight years the affairs of the Deccan were in the charge of Prince Aurangzīb, whose attitude gave a clear indication of his future plans. He maintained his own representative at Golconda, and 'Abdullah had to take care to humour the latter, as also his master. Banda Rizāī was the first representative, and 'Abdullah treated him with great consideration, and ordered his nobles to do the same. He amassed a huge fortune, and became overbearing. Moreover, sometimes he even embezzled money which 'Abdullah gave him for the Prince. At length the Qutbshāh complained against him ; Aurangzīb recalled him and threw him into prison. He was succeeded by Qāzī 'Azīz.[98]

Aurangzīb and 'Abdullah.

An incident which occurred only a year after the assumption of the Deccan Viceroyalty by Prince Aurangzīb is illustrative of his imperious and ambitious nature. In 1637 'Abdullah Qutbshāh sent Mullā Muqīm to see the Prince at Daulatābād, and to give him on his behalf three elephants with silver housings, and sundry other presents. But Aurangzīb declined to accept them because they were below his expectations. This compelled 'Abdullah to send two more elephants, one hundred thousand *huns* from the fixed tribute, and one big diamond which he originally meant to send to the Emperor. This time the Prince was satisfied, and he accepted the presents. Thus the King of Golconda was fleeced on any and every trivial pretext.[99]

Early in July 1637, a royal envoy, Mīr Hafīzullah, arrived in Golconda. As usual, an honourable reception was extended to him. He was received in audience on July 28, and he presented some enamelled wares to 'Abdullah Qutbshāh on behalf of his master. He was sumptuously entertained by the Peshwā Shaykh Muhammad and was in accordance with Shāhjahān's instructions allowed to return in the following November. The Qutbshāh gave him 4,000 *huns* for the Emperor, and a diamond

Embassy of Mīr Hafīzullah.

98 Hadīqat, f. 285.

99 Hadīqat, f. 284 b.

weighing 60 *rattis*. But unfortunately the death of 'Abdullah's envoy Mirzā Md. Jauhar detained Mīr Hafīzullah, and he could not start till early in January 1638. He was now accompanied by Mirzā Nāsir. Again, in March 1640 Shafī'ā came as envoy from Shāhjahān, and after a stay of ten months he was allowed to return in December. Mir Fasīhuddīn went with him to see Prince Aurangzīb, and took for the latter two hundred thousand *huns* and other valuable presents.[100]

Nizāmuddīn Ahmad closes his history of 'Abdullah Qutbshāh in 1640 and henceforward the information about the Kingdom of Golconda becomes scrappy. But it is evident that the relations between the Dihlī and Haidarābād courts, though formally cordial, were not really happy. There were constant complaints about the arrears of tribute, and threats of severe action in case of non-payment. Thus when Shāyista Khān was the governor of the Deccan, and he reminded 'Abdullah of the arrears due to him, the latter wrote: " I shall be careful to pay the balance. I am herewith sending two hundred thousand *huns*, and I shall pay the rest soon."[101] These arrears, be it noted, accumulated on account of the varying rate of exchange.[102]

When Aurangzīb arrived for the second time in the Deccan as Viceroy (1653), he adopted a stern attitude towards the Qutbshāh, and asked him to clear the dues at once, or otherwise to cede a part of his territories. As if the burden of an annual tribute of two hundred thousand huns was not sufficiently heavy, the Prince now demanded immediate payment of the difference due to the exchange, for all the past years. Thus a liability of another two million rupees was imposed on the shoulders of the Qutbshāh. A further cause of complaint was

Aurangzīb's second Viceroyalty.

100 Hadīqat, ff. 285-86.

101 Marāsilāt-i-Qutbshāhī, ff. 1—3.

102 We can form a very good idea of these wrangles from the contemporary correspondence, especially from the letters of 'Abdullah which are to be found in the Marāsilāt-i-Qutbshāhī.

provided by the latter's unauthorised conquest of the Carnatic. To crown it all there was the affair of Mīr Jumla.

Naturally, 'Abdullah Qutbshāh could not satisfy these extravagant demands, and thus drew upon himself the ire both of the Emperor and of the Prince. The crisis came when he imprisoned (21st November, 1655) the family of Mīr Jumla and his son Md. Amīn, for the disobedient conduct of the former. Aurangzīb immediately reported the incident to his father, and requested sanction of war with Golconda. In anticipation of the royal order he mobilised his troops under his son Muhammad Sultān at Nānder. Meanwhile he forwarded his father's *farmāns* to 'Abdullah Qutbshāh ordering him to release the family of Mīr Jumla, and requesting him not to hinder the latter from coming to the Imperial court, since he had been appointed a *mansabdār* of 5,000. The Qutbshāh disregarded these commands, and Aurangzīb ordered his son to enter Golconda. Although Md. Amīn was released and sent to him, Prince Muhammad continued his march and reached Haidarābād which was sacked and plundered.

Invasion of Golconda

'Abdullah fled to Golconda, and shut himself in the fort. He sent daily envoys to Prince Muhammad to offer his submission and to ask for peace, but the latter could do nothing till the arrival of his father. Aurangzīb arrived on February 6, 1656, and began the siege of Golconda. Meanwhile 'Abdullah spared no means to win over Aurangzīb on the one hand, and on the other the Emperor and the heir-apparent Dārā. Finally, in spite of the passionate appeals of Aurangzīb for the annexation of Golconda, Shāhjahān ordered him to stop the war and conclude peace. So on March 30, in obedience to the Emperor's orders, Aurangzīb raised the siege. But in spite of the treaty of 1656 there remained causes of conflict between Golconda and Dihlī, and Aurangzīb after his accession took advantage of them to push on his imperialistic policy.[103]

[103] For details see, 'Sarkār's History of Aurangzīb,' Vol. I, Chapter X.

CHAPTER VIII

TRANS-OXIANA

THE dream of recovering their ancestral dominions fired the imagination of the Moghul rulers of India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Because the blood of Tīmūr ran in their veins, they regarded Trans-Oxiana as belonging to them by right of legal inheritance, and they ever cast longing eyes on the arid regions of the north. To recover Samarqand and Bokhāra Bābur went to the length of even sacrificing his religious conscience.[1] Humāyūn's activities could not extend farther than Badakhshān. Akbar was confronted by the mighty 'Abdullah Khān Uzbeg, and could hardly move his finger beyond the borders of the *suba* of Kabul. And when after the Deccan wars he had an opportunity, his attention was engrossed with the rebellion of his son. Jahāngīr inherited the ambition of his father,[2] but lacked practical genius. First the rebellion of Khusrav, and then preoccupation with internal affairs, rendered any scheme of territorial expansion in the north impracticable. During his reign, therefore, friendly relations were maintained with the rulers of Trans-Oxiana.

Ambition of the Great Moghuls.

That country was at this time ruled by Astrākhāns, a branch of the descendants of Changīz Khān who for two centuries lived in obscurity "till at last disunion, or more probably the growing power of the Russian dukes, forced them to seek a new home; and Yār Muhammad Khān accompanied by his son Jānī Khān migrated to Trans-Oxiana.'[3] Here they were welcomed by the Shaibānīd Iskandar

The Astrākhāns.

1 Rushbrook Williams, 'An Empire-builder of the Sixteenth Century,' p. 102.

2 R. B., Vol. I, p. 89.

3 Lāhaurī says that after the occupation of Hashtar Khān's country by Russians, Yār Muhammad came to Trans-Oxiana. (Vol. I, p. 217); Vambery; 'History of Bokhara,' p. 305.

Khān who married his daughter Zuhra Khānim[4] to Yār Muhammad in 1567. Henceforward the Astrākhānids got mixed up with the politics of their newly adopted country and after many vicissitudes of fortune Imām Qulī, a great-grandson of Yār Muhammad ascended the throne of Samarqand in 1611. After the assumption of royal power Imām Qulī treated his brother Nazr Muhammad with great consideration, and assigned to him Balkh.[5]

When Shāh 'Abbās I captured Qandahār (1622) Imām Qulī despatched 'Abdur Rahīm Khvāja to the Moghul Court, to offer his cooperation in case a campaign to recover it was led by Prince Shāhjahān. Further he put forward the plan of the subjugation of Khurāsān by the joint armies, which, he said, should be divided between the two participating parties. But the plan could never materialise. 'Abdur Rahīm stayed at Lahore, and witnessed the events following the death of Jahāngīr. After the accession of Shāhjahān, he came to Agra and was honourably received. The new Emperor held him in so much esteem that on his recommendation he passed over the offences of 'Abdullah Khān Fīroz Jang and restored his former honours to him.[6]

Imām Quli's gesture to Jahāngīr.

Imām Qulī was a peace-loving monarch, and did nothing to embitter the relations with the Moghul Emperor. But his brother Nazr Muhammad was possessed of a restless ambition. The appanage of Balkh was too narrow for his activities. But he dared not come into collision either with his magnanimous brother, or with the powerful Shāh of Persia. But a sudden storm in the political atmosphere of India afforded him an

Nazr Muhammad's invasion of Kabul.

[4] Vambery, p. 305; Howarth; 'History of the Mongols,' Vol. II, Div. II, p. 744.

[5] Qazvīnī, f. 162.

[6] Qazvīnī, ff. 150 and 151; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 193.

excellent opportunity for territorial aggrandisement. The death of Jahāngīr followed by the quarrel for succession between Shahriyār and Dāwar Bakhsh created much consternation at the Moghul Court. Moreover, at this juncture the Imperial prestige stood low in Kabul, because of a disaster which had befallen the Moghul army at the hands of the frontier tribesmen.[7] These circumstances led Nazr Muhammad to undertake the conquest of Kabul, much against the wishes and advice of his elder brother.

He sent his son 'Abdul 'Azīz with his tutor 'Abdur Rahmān Bī in advance. They marched to Zuhāk and took the Moghul commander Khanjar Khān almost by surprise. But the latter coolly organised the defence of the fort, and when the Uzbeg vanguard appeared before the gate, he sallied out and put them to flight. Next day May 8, 1628. Nazr Muhammad joined his son with the main army, and made an unsuccessful effort to storm the fort. The failure irritated him and he sharply reprimanded some of his officers. Once more he arranged his army into several divisions, and delivered a general assault ; but Khanjar Khān drove him back with heavy losses. As he could not afford to lose any more time at Zuhāk, he postponed its capture till after the reduction of Kabul. He raised the siege, and pushed on.

When he found the Ghorband and Chārīkārān route closed to him, he advanced post-haste by way of Siyāhsang. By guile and force he entered Pamghān, and mercilessly sacked the entire district. His next march brought him within ten miles of Kabul ; and from this place he addressed letters to the Imperial officers. He held out to them the offer of tempting rewards, as also threats of dire revenge. His messengers, Nazr Khvāja and Kulbābā, were received by the representatives of the garrison at the Dihlī gate. They mocked at the contents of the letters, refused to budge an inch from the position they had taken, protested their loyalty to the Emperor, and told the Uzbeg's

[7] See Chapter V.

messengers to request their master to return to his country immediately, lest he should suffer a terrible fate at the hands of the Imperial army, which, they said was fast coming to their assistance.

But the warning made little impression on Nazr Muhammad because he aimed at completing his work before the arrival of reinforcements from India. He moved towards the town of Kabul to besiege the fort. On May 29, 1628, his scouts appeared on the ridge of the Fath canal, and at Bībī Māhrū. The Imperialists barred their path by planting themselves on the mound of Dīh-i-Afghānān, and at the mausoleum of Mehdī Khvāja. Skirmishes between the rival parties continued throughout the day, and in the evening the Moghuls retired to the fort. The way now being clear, Nazr Muhammad entered the town, and accommodated himself in the house of 'Abdur Rahmān Beg Tarnābī, which lay to the north of the fort.

Next morning he opened the siege by throwing out entrenchments. The garrison attempted to frighten the invaders by heavy volleys of firing ; but the latter, undaunted, moved their trenches forward. At length, they arrived very close to the ditch, and erected batteries to storm the fort. This alarmed the garrison, since they were ill-prepared to stand a siege. There were neither men nor provisions enough to hold the position and the state of affairs grew every day more critical. At length Mīr Mūsā, a follower of Khvāja Abul Hasan, one day sallied out of the fort, raided the trenches of Muhammad Bāqī Bī Qalmāq, killed a large number of Uzbegs, and levelled their batteries.

Meanwhile news of the investment of Kabul was conveyed with great expedition to court ; and the Emperor ordered Mahābat Khān on June 27, 1628, to hasten to the relief of the garrison. But when Lashkar Khān, the new Governor of Kabul, who had already set out to assume charge of his duties, heard the news on the way, he quickened his pace and arrived at Peshwar. He despatched his son Sazāwār Khān with a contingent of troops in advance, and asked Zafar Khān to accompany them. Lashkar Khān

Shāhjahān's steps.

followed shortly after. Realising the gravity of the situation, he did not wait for the arrival of Mahābat Khān but pushed on to Jalālābād, and from there reached Nirula. Here, Zafar Khān's men joined him, and advised him to take a little rest. But he set aside the suggestion, and marched to Gandamak, where he halted for two days to complete his arrangements.

On hearing of the arrival of the Imperialists at Barīk-āb, within twenty-four miles of Kabul, Nazr Muhammad abandoned the siege, and retreated to Bigrām to give battle to Lashkar Khān. The latter was extremely eager to measure swords with the Chief of Balkh, and quickly joined the party which he had sent in advance. The progress of Lashkar Khān overawed Nazr Muhammad, and now at last he was awakened to the danger of his position. He was in a foreign country, and his troops were merely a band of mercenary freebooters, who had flocked to his standard because of the prospect of rich plunder. Soon after the beginning of the siege many of them had dispersed to satisfy their greed, seriously depleting the ranks of Nazr Muhammad. To fight, with such a scanty following, the disciplined army of the Moghuls was to court certain disaster. Moreover, the outpost of Zuhāk was still holding out ; and in case of his discomfiture the garrison would cut off his retreat. Hence Nazr Muhammad decided not to risk a battle, and retired to his own country on August 28, 1628. Lashkar Khān entered Kabul a week later.[8]

Retreat of Nazr Muhammad.

The news of Nazr Muhammad's withdrawal was reported to Mahābat Khān at Sirhind, where he stopped to await further instructions from Court. The Emperor ordered him to return, and to send Mu'taqid Khān to escort the ladies of the late monarch's *harim* from Lahore. To relieve the sufferings of the inhabitants of Kahul, inflicted on them by the invaders, the Emperor sent one hundred thousand rupees to be distributed among the poor and needy.

[8] Qazvīnī, ff. 155—58; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 206—15.

The abortive attempt of Nazr Muhammad on Kabul did not deter Shāhjahān from continuing friendly relations with his brother Imām Qulī. Accordingly, on November 3, 1628, he despatched Hakīm Hāziq on an ambassadorial mission to the court of Bokhārā. With him went Muhammad Siddīq Khvāja son of the late 'Abdur Rahīm Khvāja. The presents sent included jewellery and other choice articles *de vertu* (of India) to the value of one hundred and fifty thousand rupees. Another thirty thousand rupees were given to Siddīq Khvāja and ten thousand rupees were sent for his uncle Hasan Khvāja.

The letter to Imām Qulī mentions the receipt of the one sent by the latter to the late Emperor Jahāngīr, the detention of 'Abdur Rahīm Khvāja, his arrival at Agra, and his death. Further, it states that the Emperor, soon after his accession, intended to send an envoy, but was prevented by the sudden demise of the Khvāja, and the unprovoked attack on Kabul by Nazr Muhammad. But after the latter's repulse by the Imperial army, it being necessary to remove any misunderstanding caused by his inconsiderate action, and to restore amicable relations between the two houses, he was sending Hakīm Hāziq.[9]

Envoy sent to Imām Qulī.

This action of Shāhjahān and the attitude which he adopted on this occasion were very politic. There was need of tranquillity on the northern frontier, and he did not wish Nazr Muhammad to repeat his adventure. By insisting upon the longstanding friendship between the Moghuls and the rulers of Trans-Oxiana, and by writing politely to Imām Qulī, Shāhjahān thought to make Nazr Muhammad appear reprehensible in the eyes of his own people, and thus deprive him of any sympathy or support at the court of Bokhāra. And secondly, it would serve as a warning to him. As a threatening demonstration the Imperialists seized the Astrākhānid outpost of Bamiyān[10] in May 1629.

[9] Qazvīnī, ff. 165—167 b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 231—37.

[10] Qazvīnī, f. 176 b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 260-61.

The apparent effect of this move was that Nazr Muhammad kept quiet, and assumed, so to speak, a negative attitude towards the Moghul Emperor. It is not quite clear what made him, subsequently, open friendly relations with him. In 1632 he despatched Waqqās Hājī, who arrived at the Moghul Court on July 8 of the same year. He was welcomed outside the city of Agra by Mu'tamid Khān who introduced him to the Emperor. The envoy presented to Shāhjahān, on behalf of his master, horses, camels, and other articles of Balkh, to the value of fifteen thousand rupees. The Emperor bestowed on him that day a robe of honour, and a jewelled sword worth four thousand rupees.[11]

Nazr Muhammad makes peace.

Next year, in February 1633, Shāhjahān sent Tarbiyat Khān as a return ambassador to the court of Nazr Muhammad. In the letter which he wrote to him, there is a brief mention of the Moghul victories in the Deccan, and of the subjugation of a large number of forts there. Further, Shāhjahān acknowledges the belated congratulations on his accession, and accepts the verbal apology sent through the envoy for the invasion of Kabul. But at the same time he remonstrates with Nazr Muhammad for having resorted to such an unwarrantable action after hearing of his accession, and especially towards the country of his co-religionists. As a postscript the account of the reduction of Huglī is also added.[12]

Tarbiyat Khān's mission.

During the following six years there was a frequent exchange of envoys between the two courts. In February 1639, Shāhjahān left Lahore to visit Kabul. It is said that his real intention was to obtain information about roads and means of communication to Trans-Oxiana.[13] He sent in advance Prince Dārā with a large army

Shāhjahān's visit to Kabul.

11 Qazvīnī, f. 251 b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 431.

12 Qazvīnī, f. 265; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 465—72.

13 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 139.

and siege guns. At Naushahra the Emperor held a review and found that his troops numbered fifty thousand. After his arrival at Kabul he ordered Sa'īd Khān to subdue some of the frontier tribesmen who had been won over by Palangtosh, the Governor of Kahmard, on behalf of Nazr Muhammad. Naturally, Shāhjahān's presence at Kabul and his aggressive attitude alarmed both Imām Qulī and Nazr Muhammad, and they sent envoys with humble representations, offering their co-operation in the conquest of Khurāsān.[14] But the time for a decisive action was not yet ripe, and so after giving favourable replies to messengers, Shāhjahān returned to Lahore on August 15, 1639.

Political changes in Trans-Oxiana.

But within the next few months kaleidoscopic changes occurred in the political affairs of Trans-Oxiana, notice of which should be taken in order to understand the further development of the attitude of the Moghul Emperor towards the Astrākhāns. After a fairly long period of rule, not vouchsafed to many in that country, Imām Qulī was seized by an attack of ophthalmia, from which he speedily became blind. His brother's misfortune was Nazr Muhammad's opportunity, and he wrote to him offering his help in the discharge of the administration. Imām Qulī was not averse to the idea of retiring in favour of his brother; but when he consulted his officers, they evinced a bitter hatred towards Nazr Muhammad Upon this Imām Qulī wrote to him to wait for some time.

But Nazr Muhammad was impatient. He detained his brother's messenger and despatched his son 'Abdul Azīz to reduce Hisār and Samarqand. After securing the possession of these places, he thought it would be fairly easy to bring the hostile nobles of Bokhāra to submission. But the latter in their first wave of enthusiasm brought Imām Qulī to Samarqand to bid defiance to Nazr Muhammad's plans. Unfortunately Hisār soon fell, and in consequence the ardour of the blind sovereign's supporters disappeared like a pricked bubble. Many of them

14 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 154.

were won over by Nazr Muhammad, and Imām Qulī was left almost alone. He had no choice but to submit to his brother, and the *Khutba* was read in the name of Nazr Muhammad on October 31, 1641.

Three days later Imām Qulī started on his pilgrimage to Mecca. He wished to go by way of India, but when Nazr Muhammad did not consent to this, he took the Khurāsān route. But Nazr Muhammad's baseness did not end here. He deprived his brother of all his belongings, detained his wife Āy Khānum, and hounded him up to Merv. Finally, he despatched messengers to the Shāh of Persia, imploring him not to help Imām Qulī. But the Shāh disregarded his request, welcomed the fugitive, treated him well, and helped him to attain the object of his desire. "He died in the sixty-second year of his life in Medina."[15]

It was not long before Nazr Muhammad perceived that though he had succeeded to his brother's dominions, he had not acquired along with them the esteem in which he had been held among his people. His strict methods of administration aggravated his unpopularity. He removed incapable officers from their posts, and attempted to abolish the *jāgīr* system by substituting cash payments. Further, he resumed some of the *sayūrghāls* and thus offended certain religious leaders. Dissatisfaction against him grew apace, but the trouble brewed underground, until he sent an army to conquer Khvārizm, on the death of Isfandyār Khān, the ruler of that country. Immediately Bāqīyūz, the *atālīq* of his son Bahrām Sultān, raised the standard of revolt in Tāshkand. This proved the beginning of a conflagration which spread over his entire dominions.

[15] Lāhaurī, Vol. II, pp. 252—56; Tāhir Vahīd compares the conduct of Nazr Muhammad Khān towards Imām Qulī to that of the brothers of Joseph (f. 26). He further says that Nazr Muhammad's request to the Shāh of abstaining from help to Imām Qulī was rejected (f. 16). In Khuld-i-Barīn we find the same account of Imām Qulī's fall (ff. 165—68); Walī Qulī Shāmlū also mentions the arrival of Imām Qulī in Persia, and the welcome extended to him (f. 49).

Nazr Muhammad despatched his *dīvānbegī* 'Abdur Rahmān to subdue the rebel. He reached Tāshkand, and treacherously seized the fort. Upon this Bāqīyūz entered Khojend and proclaimed Sanjar, a grandson of Imām Qulī, as Khān. Nazr Muhammad now sent 'Abdul 'Azīz to put down the insurgents. 'Abdul 'Azīz marched to Khojend and besieged it for fifteen days. At this stage trouble broke out among his followers. The Bokhāra troops made common cause with the rebels, and asked 'Abdul 'Azīz to dismiss their rivals the Balkh troops, and to proclaim himself Khān of Bokhāra. 'Abdul 'Azīz reluctantly accepted the proposal, and the *Khutba* was read in his name in Auritipa in April 1645, after which he came to Samarqand.

Nazr Muhammad's fall.

These events were reported to Nazr Muhammad at Qarshī, and as Bokhāra had already been plundered by 'Abdul 'Azīz and his truculent followers, he went to take refuge in Balkh. Not content with the Khānship of Bokhāra and Samarqand 'Abdul 'Azīz wanted to wrest as much territory from his father as possible. Accordingly, he despatched troops to reduce Hisār and Chārjū. Nazr Muhammad sent Subhān Qulī and 'Abdur Rahīm to relieve these places. Meanwhile the capture of Kahmard by the Moghuls brought a new danger before him and he recalled both Subhān Qulī and 'Abdur Rahmān to fight them.[16]

Shāhjahān ordered an advance.

The Moghul Emperor watched with a malicious pleasure the outbreak of trouble in Trans-Oxiana, and planned the subjugation of Badakhshān as a preliminary to the recovery of his ancestral dominions. Accordingly, on March 28, 1645, he ordered Asālat Khān to go to Kabul, to make suitable arrangements in consultation with the Amīr-ul-Umarā 'Alī Mardān Khān. A host of other officers such as Bahādur Khān, Rustam Khān, Qulij Khān, Najābat Khān, Nazar Bahādur, Rāy Singh,

[16] Lāhaurī, Vol. II, pp. 534—56.

etc., were detailed to the help of the Amīr-ul-Umarā who was empowered to choose his own time and methods.[17]

Kahmard won and lost.

Early in June 1645, Khalīl Beg the *thānahdar* of Ghorband came to Kabul, and pointed out to Asālat Khān the feasibility of the reduction of Kahmard, since its commander, Tardī 'Alī Qutghān, had gone to the succour of Subhān Qulī to save Hisār from 'Abdul 'Azīz Khān, and thus the strength of the garrison was impaired. Asālat Khān in concurrence with the Amīr-ul-Umarā placed one thousand troops at the disposal of Khalīl Beg, who marched to Kahmard and seized it without much ado. But owing to his inexperience and pride, he did not take proper care to garrison the fort adequately, but left there only fifty horsemen, and a few musketeers, and himself retired to Zuhāk. Meanwhile Nazr Muhammad on getting intelligence of the Moghul aggression despatched his officers to repulse them. 'Abdur Rahmān and Tardī 'Alī drove out the scanty garrison and occupied the fort. They attacked the retreating men and wounded many of them.

Asālat Khān's abortive attempt.

In ignorance of the succeeding events Asālat Khān, encouraged by the speedy reduction of Kahmard, left Kabul on August 2, 1645, to open the campaign in Badakhshān. About a week later he was joined by 'Alī Mardān Khān who came with his men, without waiting for further reinforcements from India which, he thought, would arrive too late. On the way the loss of Kahmard was reported to them, but they pushed on to Ghorband. Here Khalīl Beg came to them and represented the utter impossibility of continuing the campaign, since the roads leading to Badakhshān were narrow, and provisions and fodder scarce. The Imperialists were further frightened by the approach of winter. Accordingly, after plundering some frontier districts they returned to Kabul.

[17] Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 416.

Shortly after, Rājā Jagat Singh made a gallant effort to retrieve the lost Moghul prestige. With the permission of the Amīr-ul-Umarā, he left Kabul on October 15, 1645, and entered Khost by the way of the Tūl defile. He then marched to Sarāb where a heavy fall of snow detained him for three days. Upon the suggestion of the inhabitants he selected a spot between Sarāb and Indarāb, and erected there a wooden fort with battlements of stone. He sank two wells within it to keep it well supplied with water. Hardly were these preparations complete when Kafsh Qalmāq arrived with a large number of troops to dislodge the Rājā. But the latter fought valiantly, defended the fort, and after driving off the enemy returned to Panjshīr.[18]

Jagat Singh's enterprise

Meanwhile, Nazr Muhammad was passing a hard time and his position was constantly growing more critical. In fact peace and security had ceased to exist in Trans-Oxiana. Roaming bands of marauders infested the country, and in the course of their depredations they spared neither age nor religion, and treated upright and depraved alike. At Hisār they massacred Sayyid Ibrāhīm, a retired *darvīsh*, with his four hundred boy students, and shamelessly burnt *Qorāns*. It seemed that the era of Changīz Khān had revived. Nevertheless, Nazr Muhammad made a last effort to recover Hisār and sent his entire army thither. His son 'Abdul 'Azīz did the same to contest the possession.

Nazr Muhammad's attempt to save his possessions.

The rival forces encamped within a few miles of the Hisār fort, and fought an indecisive battle. This was followed by a remarkable wavering among the rank and file on either side, and for the moment the decision as to the ultimate Khānship of Trans-Oxiana hung in the balance. The supporters of both parties appealed to their chiefs to come quickly to the spot, and it was destined that the winner in the race should have the crown. 'Abdul 'Azīz marched post-haste to Hisār and the

18 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, pp. 456—58.

majority of the army swore fealty to him. Nazr Muhammad was detained in Balkh by the cautious advice of his friends, and lost his chance. 'Abdul 'Azīz with the help of his new adherents laid siege to Tirmiz. Hither came to him some of the leading Khvājas of Balkh with offers of peace from Nazr Muhammad. 'Abdul 'Azīz consented to let his father remain in possession of Balkh, and retired to Bokhāra. But this was merely a truce: and Nazr Muhammad being fearful of his security invited Shāhjahān to help him.[19]

His envoy Nazr Bī was admitted to royal audience[20] on January 11, 1646, and presented the letter of his master together with the gifts sent by the latter to the Emperor,

Nazr Muhammad's envoy.

Shāhjahān was inwardly pleased to read its contents, for here was a chance to show himself to the world as the support of the weak against the strong, while really at the same time he was realising a long-cherished ambition of his dynasty, which his illustrious ancestor Akbar had been unable to achieve. His imperialistic policy would advance under the cover of generous intentions, and he was overjoyed at the prospect. But unfortunately he entirely miscalculated the difficulties that stood in the way of winning back the land of Tīmūr; the very idea of glory blurred his vision.

He promptly sent a reply to Nazr Muhammad in which he acknowledged the receipt of his letter, but complained of the ambiguity of its contents and of its silence

Shāhjahān's reply.

regarding the true political condition of Trans-Oxiana. But on learning that of Nazr Muhammad's territories nothing was left to him except Balkh, and that his country was suffering from grave anarchy, the Emperor felt it his duty, on account both of their long-standing friendship and of the religious affinity, to march to his help. Accordingly he left Lahore, and arrived at Kabul, whence he

19 This view is supported by the historians of Persia. See Khuld-i-Barīn, f. 183; Tāhir Vahīd, f. 56 b; Qasis, f. 52 b.

20 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 479.

deputed Prince Murād with a large army to enter Badakhshān, free it of plunderers, and await his (Nazr Muhammad's) instructions. Thus the Emperor proved quicker in his response to the appeal for help than was expected.[21]

In fact Shāhjahān had, for the moment, no misgivings about his success: and immediately after the arrival of the envoy ordered elaborate preparations. Luckily there was perfect peace in the Empire at this time.

Murād's campaign.

Prince Murād was to lead the campaign at the head of 50,000 horsemen, and 10,000 footmen including musketeers, rocketeers, and gunners. Practically all of the famous generals of the Empire were deputed to assist him, and the entire army was divided into the traditional seven sections. The centre was commanded by the Prince assisted by 'Alī Mardān Khān, Najābat Khān, etc., the right under Qulij Khān, Shāh Beg Khān, Rājā Debī Singh Bundela, etc., the left under Rustam Khān, Daulat Khān, etc., the right flank under Asālat Khān, Rājā Jai Singh, Rājā Rājrūp, etc., the left flank under Khalīlullah Khān, Rājā Pahāḍ Singh, etc., the vanguard under Bahādur Khān, Vithaldās, Rāo Satrasāl Hādā, etc., and the centre-forward under Mirzā Nauroz and Lahrasp Khān, etc. Excluding the centre-forward there were altogether about 2,208 officers; and this imposing host was dismissed to Kabul on February 6, 1646.

As usual the Emperor gave detailed instructions regarding the plan of operations. The army should march through the country of the Khakkars, and proceed by way of Attock and Hasan Abdāl, because of the plentiful supply of provisions and fodder in those districts. Early in spring, when the road to Kabul became passable, the prince and one part of the army were to go by the Peshawar route, and the other part by the lower Bangash. After the junction of the two sections at Kabul, Qulij Khān, Khalīlullah and Mirzā Nauzar were to reduce Kahmard and

Instructions to the army.

[21] Lāhaurī, Vol. II, pp. 530—32.

Ghorī, whence the entire army was to enter Badakhshān and conquer it and Balkh.

These instructions to the army reveal Shāhjahān's real intentions. It is perfectly clear that he had set his heart, if not on the whole of Trans-Oxiana, at least on Badakhshān. He was probably willing to leave Balkh in the hands of Nazr Muhammad, but the latter was expected to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Moghul Emperor. But the apathy of his officers and the indiscretion of the prince ruined the entire plan.

Murād's reluctance.

Prince Murād was, unfortunately, from the beginning, not so enthusiastic about the campaign as his father. He marched tardily, and had to be warned by the Emperor to quicken his pace.[22] He arrived at Kabul on May 15, 1646, and nine days later despatched a contingent of troops under Bahādur Khān and Asālat Khān to clear the Tūl route of snow. He left Kabul on May 26, and after marching three stages arrived at Chārīkārān. From this place Qulij Khān and others were sent to reduce Ghorī and Kahmard, and the prince left for Badakhshān.

Qulij Khān's success.

Qulij Khān and his men directed their march along a very narrow road, and as it was impossible for the whole contingent to march together it was split up into several divisions. They reached Ghorband, entered the Panjshīr basin, and crossed the Kabul boundary on June 13. On the frontier Qulij Khān learnt from some merchants who were coming from Balkh that the garrison of Kahmard were unaware of the march of the Imperial troops. Qulij Khān therefore despatched Khalīl Beg with a party of *ahadīs* and musketeers to surprise them. Khalīl Beg approached the fort without attracting any notice, and the garrison stricken with terror yielded. Qulij Khān arrived on June 16, and after staying there for two days, pushed on to Ghorī which was also captured without any severe struggle.[23]

22 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 502.

23 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, pp. 520—25.

Meanwhile Prince Murād moved towards the Tūl pass, and sent a reconnoitring party under Asālat Khān. The latter ascended the hill and found the descent covered with ice one and a half yards thick. 'Alī Mardān Khān's men were ordered to clear the way and to make the road wide enough for a laden camel to pass through it. The work proceeded slowly and it was not before June 15, that the Imperialists could cross the hill and enter Sarāb. Hither came Khusrav to seek protection with the prince. He was received by Asālat Khān, and later by Prince Murād, who sent him to Court.

Murād's march.

The entire army now marched together. Passing through Sarāb and Dīh-i-Tājikān, they reached Nārin, whence a detachment under Asālat Khān was ordered to push forward, and wrest the fort of Qundūz from the enemy. Shāh Muhammad Qutghān, after thoroughly plundering the district and massacring women and children, abandoned the fort in face of the Moghul advance. The way for Asālat Khān was now quite clear, and he occupied Qundūz on June 22. The Emperor appointed Rājā Rājrūp as its commander, and to encourage the population and compensate them for the depredations of tribesmen ordered twenty-five thousand rupees to be distributed among them.

Occupation of Qundūz.

Thus Badakhshān passed into the hands of the Imperialists, and they arrived on the eastern frontier of Balkh. Here Prince Murād received a letter from the Emperor. He was advised to extend generous treatment to Nazr Muhammad, and to restore him Balkh if he behaved with modesty and submission. Further, if Nazr Muhammad expressed a desire to contest the possession of Samarqand and Bokhāra, the prince was to do everything to help him. In this way the Emperor conveyed a covert hint to his son to occupy Balkh if possible, and to extend his arms across the Oxus if that were practicable. With the letter to the prince was sent another letter addressed to Nazr Muhammad, with orders that it should be forwarded to him.

Shāhjahān's instructions to Murād.

Accordingly, when Prince Murād and 'Alī Mardān Khān arrived at Khulm, they despatched Ishaq Beg with the Emperor's letter to Nazr Muhammad. The latter received the messenger with outward pleasure, but was in reality much disturbed at the contents of the letter. In truth he had serious cause for dismay. He had invited the Moghul Emperor to help him, but now, to his chagrin, he found that the latter was trying to take advantage of his troubles. The occupation of Badakhshān opened his eyes and the advance of Prince Murād with a large army convinced him of his none too friendly intentions. But the truth is that he was to a certain extent, unnecessarily alarmed. His counsellors, who were hostile to the Moghuls, magnified the danger to him. It is possible that had he stayed in Balkh, he might have escaped some part of the trouble and humiliation which befell him during his flight.

Murād's progress to Balkh.

Ishaq Beg noticed the consternation at the court of Nazr Muhammad, even heard some of his followers speaking in disparaging terms of the Moghuls. He therefore requested the prince to come quickly to Balkh. On the way Chūchak Beg and others, who were sent by Nazr Muhammad saw Prince Murād, and delivered to him a letter from their master, imploring three days' time to prepare for his journey to Mecca. But the prince and 'Alī Mardān Khān considered it to be a trick on Nazr Muhammad's part. Accordingly, they marched straight to Balkh, and encamped within four miles of the town. Here Ishaq Beg returned to them to confirm the messages which he had sent. Shortly after, Bahrām and Subhān Qulī with a party of the nobles of Balkh came to pay a visit to the prince who received them with courtesy.

Nazr Muhammad's consternation.

On Thursday July 2, the prince started for Balkh. He sent the artillery under Rustam Khān and Mīr Qāsim in advance, and ordered them to enter the fort of Balkh. The prince pitched his camp in the *jilka* of Chārtāq opposite to the Shutarkhvār gate, and

Flight of Nazr Muhammad.

ordered his troops to be watchful. Once more Ishaq Beg was sent to Nazr Muhammad to persuade the latter to come to see the prince. But the threatening attitude of the Moghul army frightened him, and he decided to escape from the fort secretly. To cover his movements and avoid suspicion, he gave out that taking as much of his precious treasure as possible. Although moved thither with his sons Subhān Qulī and Qutlaq Muhammad, taking as much of his precious treasure as possible. Although Rustam Khān had entered the fort, he could not place guards at all the eight gates; and Nazr Muhammad fled through one of them which was under his own men.

Occupation of Balkh.

The news of his flight spread quickly in the town and created much consternation. The turbulent element broke loose and began to sack and plunder. A large part of Nazr Muhammad's treasury was seized by them. But when next day Khalīlullah Khān and Multafit Khān were able to restore some order, they saved from the hands of the Uzbegs about twelve millions of rupees' worth of jewellery and ornaments, twenty-five thousand horses, and three hundred male and female camels, belonging to Nazr Muhammad. Two sons of the latter, Bahrām and 'Abdur Rahīm with their families, were handed over to Lahrāsp; and Shukrullah 'Arab was appointed *kotwāl* of the city. The prince entered the town on July 7, 1646. Shortly after, the fort of Tirmiz was also surrendered, and the subjugation of Balkh was complete.

Nazr Muhammad's pursuit.

Immediately upon the receipt of the report of Nazr Muhammad's flight, Prince Murād ordered Bahādur Khān and Asālat Khān to pursue him. They overtook him at Shabarghān and defeated him after a sharp struggle. He fled towards Andkhūd. On the way some of his followers, with Subhān Qulī, left his company and proceeded to Bokhāra. After reaching Andkhūd Nazr Muhammad was joined by a contingent of three hundred troops and with these he pushed on to Merv. He entered Khurāsān and reached Mashhad. The Governor Murtazā Qulī

Khān welcomed him ; but after a fortnight, when he found that Nazr Muhammad was intending to return to Maimna, he placed a guard on his house. Nazr Muhammad felt much aggrieved, and without waiting for a formal letter from the Shāh he started for Isfahān.

Meanwhile when Shāhjahān heard of the occupation of Balkh, he was overjoyed, and ordered eight days' festivities

Shāhjahān's delight.

The conquest of Samarqand and Bokhāra seemed to him almost certain. The courtiers offered him congratulations and poets vied with one another to compose appropriate chronograms The best was by Nasīrāī Shīrāzī and was highly commended by the Emperor. Orders were issued to reward officers who had discharged their duties with courage and determination. The services of Bahādur Khān, Asālat Khān, Mahesh Dās Rāthor, Rūp Singh, Rām Singh Rāthor were especially noticed by the Emperor, and they were promoted to higher ranks. Likewise many others received gifts and promotions.[24]

But hardly were these festivities over, and the settlement of the newly subjugated territories complete, when the Emperor

Murād's request to return.

was amazed and annoyed to receive a very inconvenient request from Prince Murād. He sent a letter to his father to ask his permission to return from Balkh, after handing over its charge to one of the officers there. The Emperor rebuked the prince strongly for his unwarrantable request, and ordered him to stay where he was and look to the administration of that country. Further, Shāhjahān gave Prince Murād to understand, that he intended to make him Viceroy of Trans-Oxiana after the conquest of Samarqand and Bokhāra. But the glorious prospect did not appeal to him. He was young and hot-headed and unfit to bear constant hardships, or even the prospect of it.

He repeated his request, and bluntly wrote to his father that he would not rest in Balkh till he had seen him once. And

[24] Lāhaurī, Vol. II, pp. 525—55.

without waiting for a reply, he recalled from Shabarghān Bahādur Khān and Asālat Khān and also Khalīlullah Khān who had gone there to their assistance. The prince was determined to hand over to them the government of Balkh, and to return to court. He was encouraged by a large number of officers who had little inclination to serve in those inhospitable regions, exposed as much to the inclemencies of weather as to the inroads of roving bands. Moreover, most of them were originally under the impression that the campaign was only of a temporary nature, and when they found that the Emperor meant them to stay there permanently they were dissatisfied and raised complaints.

Sa'dullah Khān's mission.

Shāhjahān sent Sa'dullah Khān to dissuade the prince from his foolish purpose, and restore order and discipline among the officers. But Prince Murād proved adamant, and treated with scorn the advice of the prime-minister. He was removed from the command, and fresh arrangements were made for the govern ment of Balkh. Bahādur Khān and Asālat Khān were appointed to hold charge of Balkh, with almost unlimited powers. On Najābat Khān's declining the government of Badakhshān, it was placed under Qulij Khān and Rustam Khān was ordered to hold Andkhūd. New and pure coins were issued to replace the alloyed and counterfeit ones current in Balkh ; and everything was done to convince the inhabitants that the newcomers had come to stay. Sa'dullah Khān finished his task in twenty-two days, and returned to Kabul[25] on September 6.

Remarks.

Here a word on the tortuous diplomacy of the Moghul Emperor will not be out of place. As he had set his heart on the subjugation of Badakhshān, and knew that Nazr Muhammad was on friendly terms with the Shāh of Persia, Shāhjahān despatched Jān Nisār Khān to the Shāh to secure his neutrality.[26] Very cleverly he adopted the

25 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, pp. 556—65.

26 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 492.

pretext of congratulating Shāh 'Abbās II on his accession. The envoy was still on his way to Isfahān when the events described above occurred in Balkh, and Nazr Muhammad fled, abandoning his country to the Moghuls. Now to keep up appearances Shāhjahān despatched Mīr 'Azīz with a letter to visit Nazr Muhammad in Persia.

The contents of this letter deserve notice. It opens with a reference to Nazr Muhammad's sending of Subhān Qulī and Bahrān Sultān with other notables, to visit Prince Murād after his arrival near Balkh. The next passage couched in apologetic terms is very interesting: "When the prince encamped opposite to Balkh, on account of his youth and inexperience, and the laziness and negligence of the elders accompanying him, some undesirable actions were performed, e.g., the entering of Rustam Khān into the fort, when you (Nazr Muhammad) were in presence there. These must have been a source of pain and alarm to you, and I am very sorry to hear of it. . . . But I expected that you would repair to us and not go elsewhere . . . But fate is stronger than will . . . . I wished to clear Balkh of troublesome elements, and to hand it over to you . . . . and to place at your disposal an army to help you, when you so desired, to recover Trans-Oxiana." It concludes with a friendly gesture on the part of Shāhjahān, who expressed his readiness to send his (Nazr Muhammad's) family to any place he should choose.[27]

But this expression of sincere friendship and deep concern was only formal. In fact, the Emperor was pleased at the turn events had taken; and from the trend of the letter quoted above, it can fairly be concluded that the flight of Nazr Muhammad to Persia was regarded by him as a sufficient justification for the occupation of his country. Reference is only made to the pious intentions of the past, without any hopes being held out for the future. In other words, if Shāhjahān had really any generous intentions, he could even now have said plainly to

[27] Lāhaurī, Vol. II, pp 572—77.

Nazr Muhammad that his country would be restored to him if he came back. But the utmost he promised was to send his family back. The letter which Shāhjahān sent to the Shāh 'Abbās II through Arslān Beg reveals his duplicity.

The conquest of Balkh and Badakhshān was easy enough, but to govern these regions was a task which defied the ability of the Moghul officers. They found a whole nation in arms against them, and in spite of their superior numbers and discipline, it became impossible for them to control the elusive Uzbegs. Their outposts were exposed to attack from them and many of the Imperialists lived in a state of siege, fighting frequent but indecisive skirmishes with the enemy. It is unnecessary to enter into the details of these sporadic tussels, but for the proper grasp of the situation a brief outline may be given.

Difficulties in Balkh.

The Moghul province of Kabul stretched northwards to the Hindūkush range ; its frontier outpost was Bamiyān across the mountains. By the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshān the Imperial boundaries were pushed to the southern bank of the Oxus, and its continuation Ābi-Panjā. The province of Balkh was a plain and level region, but Badakhshān was interspersed with hills, with swift streams running down their slopes. The provision which the Imperialists made for the defence of these two provinces was strategically inadequate. They established three outposts in two lines, running almost parallel : one ran from Hazrat Imām across the western borders of Badakhshān to Khanjān and Indrāb in the Hindūkush, and the other shorter in length started from Andkhūd, passed Shaberghān and ended at Sarpul, among the offshoots of the Bund-i Turkistān. Across the latter line the westernmost outpost was that of Maimna. Thus Balkh was securely enclosed between these two lines.

The drawback in these dispositions was that, although sufficient precautions were taken to ensure the security of the western frontier, and also internal peace, no attention was paid to the protection of the most vulnerable line of defence in the north, the river Oxus. There were hardly any strong outposts

there. Āqcha, Khulm and Qundūz were much too far to the south. Thus the way was open for the roving bands of Uzbegs and other nomad tribes to enter Balkh and harass the Moghul officers. Moreover, the inhabitants of the newly conquered territories were, themselves, not peaceful or law abiding citizens. They were more akin to their northern brethren than to the newcomers.

To revert to the sufferings of the Imperialists, we find that, hardly before the conquest was complete, Qundūz was attacked by a party of Uzbegs who were repulsed by Rājā Rājrūp. Next came the turn of Andkhūd, which was attacked by a similar band; this was driven off by Rustam Khān. In this way practically every outpost in either line was threatened or sacked by Uzbegs. In the west they extended their depredations up to Shaberghān and in the east up to Khanjan. They marched to the very confines of Balkh and frequently lifted cattle from the northern districts of Badakhshān, e.g., Rustakh, Qundūz, and Khānābād. The difficulties of the Imperialists were aggravated by the severity of the winter and all its natural concomitants. Moreover, they could not move so quickly as their enemy, and more often than not they succeeded in killing only a few of their number.[28]

Rising of tribes.

There was yet another defect in the Moghul arrangements which affected their organisation to no small extent. It was the lack of a supreme commander. Bahādur Khān, Asālat Khān, Qulij Khān and Rustam Khān were practically of the same rank; and though individually every one of them was brave, able and industrious, they could not combine together and plan a common programme. Shāhjahān was conscious of this, hence his insistence on Murād's remaining there. He could have appointed 'Alī Mardān Khān as Viceroy, but the latter was not likely to be popular among the inhabitants of Balkh. As a last resort, the plan of distributing the country among various officers was

No supreme commander.

28 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, pp. 613—24, 462—58.

adopted, but it failed. Shāhjahān would have been wiser to withdraw his army from Balkh and leave the country to its own fate. But ambition made him indifferent to prudence and circumspection, and a false notion of prestige led him to make determined efforts to keep his standard flying in the land of his ancestors.

Accordingly he appointed Prince Aurangzīb to lead the campaign for the restoring of order in Balkh.[29] The Emperor made extensive preparations, conveyed large sums of money to Kabul, and massed troops at convenient stations from Peshawar to Kabul, in readiness to move at the first word of command. The prince left Kabul on April 7, 1647, and marched to Kahmard. At Darrah-i-Gaz the Astrākhāns led by Qutluq Muhammad disputed the passage, but were dispersed after a brief struggle. They continued to hover about the flanks of the Imperial army to impede its progress ; but Prince Aurangzīb and 'Alī Mardān Khān repulsed them successfully and pushed on towards their objective. They reached Balkh on May 25.

'Abdul 'Azīz Khān was now firmly established in Trans-Oxiana ; and when he heard of the march of a large army from the south, he determined to make one gigantic effort to drive the Moghuls out of Balkh. He mustered a large army of 120,000 men and encamped on the Oxus river. He despatched one contingent under Qutluq Muhammad to check the Moghul advance, and ordered another under Beg Ughlī to cross the river, march to Āqcha, and take up a position midway between Balkh and the outpost of Andkhūd. When Bahādur Khān heard that Beg Ughlī had crossed the river at Kalīf, he marched forth to drive them out but was recalled by Prince Aurangzīb.

On May 31, 1647, the prince with the entire army marched to dislodge the enemy from their new position. The Imperialists moved with great caution. Bahādur Khān led the van, " Aurangzīb seated on an elephant commanded the centre which enclosed in its bosom the baggage and camp followers, and 'Alī

[29] For Aurangzīb's Balkh Campaign see Sarkār's 'Aurangzīb,' Vol. I, Chapter V.

Mardān Khān brought up the rear. The artillery supported by foot musketeers cleared the line of advance." Fighting incessantly with the hovering Uzbegs, the Moghuls pushed on and plundered the camp of Qutluq Muhammad who had joined Beg Ughlī after his repulse at Darrah-i-Gaz. But the enemy attacked the left wing which was led by an old and infirm officer Sa'īd Khān Bahādur Zafar Jang; and the Imperialists gave way under the pressure of the Uzbegs. The timely arrival, however, of Aurangzīb to their succour saved the division from total extinction.

Amidst intense sufferings the Moghul troops marched on with great patience, and it was owing to the ability and generalship of 'Alī Mardān Khān that they escaped many a mishap. At length they arrived near Pāshāī where Aurangzīb seized the enemy's camp, and secured the release of the peasantry whom they had carried off into captivity. Meanwhile Subhān Qulī advanced with a large army to attack Balkh. Accordingly Aurangzīb retreated from Pāshāī on June 5, and two days later met the Bokhāra army in its full strength. 'Abdul 'Azīz, Subhān Qulī, Beg Ughlī, and other leading officers were present and directed the attack on three points of the Imperial army. But again their musketry and superior discipline gave the Moghuls the victory, and Aurangzīb safely returned to Balkh on June 11.

The grim tenacity of Prince Aurangzīb struck terror into the heart of the enemy; and 'Abdul 'Azīz now desired to make peace. "His hopes of crushing Aurangzīb had failed. He had personally witnessed a striking proof of the prince's cool courage; for one day, the hour of evening prayer arrived when the battle was at its hottest; Aurangzīb spread his carpet on the field, knelt down and calmly said his prayers, regardless of the strife and din around him. He was then, as during the rest of the campaign, without armour and shield. The Bokhāra army gazed on the scene with wonder, and 'Abdul 'Azīz, in generous admiration, stopped the fight, crying: "To fight with such a man is to court one's own destruction."

But it was not Aurangzīb's courage alone, which led 'Abdul 'Azīz to make overtures of peace. His own army which mostly consisted of nomad tribes, melted away upon his failure against the Moghuls. "The Turkomans in particular sold their horses and decamped across the Oxus." So he proposed to Aurangzīb to restore Bokhāra to his younger brother Subhān Qulī, and when the former promised to refer the question to the Emperor, 'Abdul 'Azīz retired to his own country. In the meantime the former king of Balkh also sent a similar request to Shāhjahān.

Nazr Muhammad after his retreat from Shaberghān went to Isfahān, where a royal reception was accorded to him by the Shāh. 'Abbās II gave many banquets in honour of his guest; and did his best to make Nazr Muhammad forget his grief. But the latter was impatient to wreak his revenge on his treacherous men, and he repeatedly requested the Shāh to give him help. Shāh 'Abbās II sent with him Sārū Khān Tālish with the Khurāsānī and 'Irāqī troops. Meanwhile Nazr Muhammad reçeived friendly messages from some Uzbeg chiefs, and so leaving the Persian commander behind, he marched to Merv. He did not enter the town owing to his ill-feeling with the Governor, 'Alī Qulī Khān, but encamped eight miles away from Merv.

Here he was joined by Kafsh Qalmāq who warned him against a hasty march to Bokhāra, and of the intended treachery of his Uzbeg friends, who wanted to seize him. Nazr Muhammad gave up the idea, and with Kafsh Qalmāq marched to Mārūchāq, where a large number of Qalmāq tribesmen flocked to his standard. With the help of these allies he repeatedly attempted to dislodge the Moghuls from their outposts of Chaichaktū and Maimna; but every time his men suffered discomfiture. The news of Aurangzīb's advance with a large army discouraged him, and Nazr Muhammad retired to Belchirāgh. However, when he heard that Abdul 'Azīz was marching to repulse the invaders, he sent some troops under Qutluq Muhammad to surprise Balkh; but this force deserted to 'Abdul 'Azīz's men.

Naturally, Nazr Muhammad could do nothing but watch the outcome of the struggle between 'Abdul 'Azīz and Aurangzīb. Upon the failure of his son, he opened negotiations for the restoration of his country. Shāhjahān was now convinced of the impossibility of holding Balkh, and after much consideration decided in favour of Nazr Muhammad in preference to his son Subhān Qulī. But the Emperor told his son first to secure an apology and humble submission from Nazr Muhammad. The latter, however, prolonged the negotiations and sent his grandsons only, excusing himself on the ground of illness. Aurangzīb had to be content with this, because winter was fast approaching, and the army was faced with starvation. He left Balkh on October 3, 1647.

Nazr Muhammad's last days.

The fate of Nazr Muhammad may briefly be told here. After the recovery of his kingdom he was not long left in peace by his son 'Abdul 'Azīz. For some time the people of Balkh remained faithful to him, but at last, being tired of the endless feud, they went over to his son. Nazr Muhammad finally decided to abandon the contest, and in order that he might spend his last days in peace made up his mind to go to Medina. He wished to be reconciled to his sons and to give them his blessing, but Subhān Qulī declined to receive this manifestation of paternal feeling. Brokenhearted Nazr Muhammad set out on his pilgrimage, and died on the way at Simnān in 1650. But so long as he remained in power at Balkh, he kept up friendly relations with the Moghul Emperor, and there is a constant record of the arrival of envoys from his court.

Conclusion.

The history of Trans-Oxiana, after this, loses interest in relation to the Moghul Court and its politics. After the adventures of Bābur this was the first serious attempt made by any Great Moghul to annex the original possessions of Tīmūr. It failed because, in the first place, though Shāhjahān was very earnest about it, the majority of his officers detested the idea of passing their lives in such a distant country and in an extremely trying climate. They were

thus in direct contrast to Bābur's officers who were hardy warriors in leather jerkins and who were afraid of losing their physical vigour in the torrid plains of India. This is why Shāhjahān's officers have aptly been styled as "pale persons in muslin petticoats." Another reason of the failure of the Moghuls to hold Balkh was that the conquerors could not enlist the sympathy of the people. The inhabitants of Trans-Oxiana were still in the tribal stage of civilisation and they doggedly clung to their chiefs. It was this idea which led Shāhjahān to offer the government of Badakhshān to Najābat Khān because it was once ruled by his ancestors. And lastly owing to the traditional hostility between the Uzbegs and the Chaghtāīs the Imperialists had to face a whole nation in arms ; naturally they could not stay there long. Thus the attempt to realise his dream cost the Moghul Emperor dear.

CHAPTER IX

RELATIONS WITH PERSIA

WHEN we speak of the foreign policy of the Great Moghuls, we mean their relations with Trans-Oxiana and Persia. The former have been described in the foregoing chapter; now let us turn to the latter. In the case of Persia, though the Chaghtāī sovereigns gave expression to feelings of amity and goodwill, and though this attitude was reciprocated by the Safavid monarchs, there is sufficient evidence to show that they were jealous and distrustful of each other. The court of Persia, on its part, so far as possible, never recognised the highsounding titles of the Indian rulers, and displayed, as it were, a patronising attitude towards them. In the contemporary correspondence they repeatedly refer to the help which Shāh Ismā'īl gave to Bābur, and the protection which Shāh Tahmāsp extended to Humāyūn. In contrast to this, the Moghul Emperors regarded themselves as superior to the Shāh, because the extent of their territories was larger, and by reputation their wealth was greater. The true *raison d'etre* of the constant exchange of envoys, over and above the pursuit of secret information, was the desire of either party to impress the other with its grandeur.[1]

Question of Qandahār.

The amicable relations between the Safavid and Chaghtāī houses were occasionally disturbed by contest for the possession of Qandahār. Shāh Ismā'īl coveted it, but Bābur seized it.[2] Tahmāsp occupied it during the troublesome period following the death of Humāyūn, but Akbar recovered it by underhand means.[3] When Shāh 'Abbās I, the greatest of the Safavid monarchs, ascended the throne, he made it the object of his diplomacy

[1] Bernier, p. 128.

[2] Rushbrook Williams, 'An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century,' pp. 117—119.

[3] Vincent Smith, 'Akbar the Great Moghul,' p. 258.

to win it back. By fair words and repeated messengers, he disarmed the suspicion of his contemporary Jahāngīr, and convinced him of his good intentions and faith. And while his envoy Zambal Beg was still at the Moghul Court, taking advantage of the weak defences of Qandahār, he suddenly attacked it and captured it. To add insult to injury, he addressed a letter to Jahāngīr justifying his conduct, and making excuses for his action.[4]

Private relations between Shāh 'Abbās I and Shāhjahān.

Henceforward for some time the relations between the two courts were strained; but private and unauthorised correspondence between Prince Shāhjahān and Shāh 'Abbās I continued. The last letter was sent by the former, after his submission to his father. However, when the Shāh heard of the death of Prince Parwīz, he thought of sending an envoy to condole with the Emperor Jahāngīr in his bereavement. He appointed Takhta Beg for this mission,[5] but before the envoy could leave Persia, there arrived the report of Jahāngīr's death. Later, on hearing of the distractions in the Moghul Empire, Shāh 'Abbās I sent Bahrī Beg with a letter to Shāhjahān, offering his help if he needed it. The envoy was received outside Agra by Mu'taqid Khān, and was admitted to audience[6] on July 5, 1629.

Md. 'Alī Beg and Mīr Barka.

While Bahrī Beg was on his way to India Shāh 'Abbās I died in Māzandarān on January 9, 1629. He was succeeded by his grandson Sām Mirzā, son of the unfortunate Safī Mirzā. The new king afterwards at his accession adopted the title of his father, and is known to history as Shāh Safī. According to the time-honoured etiquette the Shāh took the earliest opportunity to send an envoy to congratulate Shāhjahān on his accession. He selected Muhammad 'Alī Beg and despatched him to Agra.

4 R. B., Vol. II, pp. 240—42.

5 'Ālam Ārāy 'Abbāsī, f. 416 (Add 16, 684).

6 Jāmi'-al-Marāsilāt, f. 229; Qazvīnī, ff. 176b-77; Lāhauri, Vol pp. 261-62.

The letter which he carried was in the usual adulatory style, full of pompous expressions almost devoid of meaning.[7] Meanwhile Shāhjahān who had heard of the death of Shāh Abbās, despatched Mīr Barka to Persia on exactly the same mission.[8] The two envoys probably crossed each other on the way.

Shāhjahān's letter to the Shāh.

In his letter, Shāhjahān acknowledged the arrival of Bahrī Beg, congratulated Shāh Safī on his accession, referred to his friendly relations with the late monarch and to his own accession, after giving short shrift to his rivals and enemies. Further, as if in reply to the offer of help by the late Shāh, Shāhjahān wrote to say that he was willing to assist Shāh Safī to strengthen his power. The letter concluded with friendly advice to the Shāh to whom it was suggested that he should follow in the footsteps of his grandfather. Mīr Barka had to wait at Isfahān for an audience of the Shāh who was busy with the Turks. On his return the Indian envoy laid before him the presents which he had brought from his master. And in spite of the fact that Shāhjahān in his letter to the Shāh had requested an early return for the messenger, Mīr Barka was detained at the Persian court for more than a year.[9]

Md. 'Alī Beg's reception.

When Muhammad 'Alī Beg arrived at Agra, he found Shāhjahān absent in the Deccan whither he had gone to suppress the rebellion of Khān Jahān Lodhī. But as soon as the Emperor heard of his arrival, he made arrangements for his journey to the Deccan, since he did not want to keep him waiting till his return to Agra. Makramat Khān was sent from Burhānpūr with a robe of honour to be conferred on the envoy wherever he might meet him on the way. He was further directed to escort

7 Jāmi'-al-Marāsilāt, ff. 252b-53.

8 Qazvīnī, ff. 183b—87; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 281—87; Jāmi'-al-Marāsilāt, f. 252.

9 Khuld-i-Barīn, f. 39

Md. 'Alī Beg to Māndū, and to commend him to the care of Mu'taqid Khān, the Governor of Mālwa.[10]

After taking a little rest in Māndū, Md. 'Alī Beg started for the Deccan. Near Burhānpūr he was welcomed by Afzal Khān and Sādiq Khān, and when he was admitted to audience he handed to the Moghul Emperor the letter of the Shāh. On the self-same day Shāhjahān bestowed on him presents worth 20,000 rupees. Six days later, Md. 'Alī Beg presented to the Emperor gifts worth three hundred thousand rupees, which he had brought from Persia. Shāhjahān was very lavish in his bounty to the Persian envoy, and let no occasion pass without presenting him with some gift of value to impress his dignity on him. Md. 'Alī Beg stayed in Burhānpūr till September 19, 1631, when he was asked to repair to Agra to arrange for his departure. But it was not till the return of Mīr Barka (June 30, 1632) that leave was given to Md. 'Alī Beg to go back.[11]

The Zamīndār of Qoshanj comes to Moghul Court.

Meanwhile an incident occurred in Qandahār, which might have had, though it did not actually have, the effect of ruffling the amicable relations between the Moghul Emperor and the Shāh. Shīr Khān Tarīn had been the governor of Qoshanj ever since the recovery of Qandahār by Shāh 'Abbās I who treated him with great consideration. After the death of the latter he became recalcitrant, and began to lay hands upon travellers between India and Persia. 'Alī Mardān Khān, the governor of Qandahār, was watching for an opportunity to punish him. When in 1630-31 he left his district to plunder Sīvī, 'Alī Mardān Khān marched with one thousand troops to Qoshanj and occupied it. Shīr Khān after fighting a contested battle with him fled to Dokī. He then turned to Ahmad Beg Khān, the governor of Multan, who forwarded to the court a petition from him, which was granted. Shīr Khān saw the

10 Qazvīnī, f. 219 b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 361-62.

11 Qazvīnī, ff. 249-50, 255; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 441.

Emperor on March 13, 1632, and was assigned a *jāgīr* in the Panjāb.[12]

The return envoy to the Persian court was Safdar Khān, who left Agra on May 16, 1633. He carried presents worth about four hundred thousand rupees for the Shāh, and Shāhjahān took meticulous care to instruct him in the modes of behaviour at the Persian court. The letter to the Shāh was drafted by Afzal Khān, and in it Shāhjahān acknowledged the embassy of Md. 'Alī Beg, pointed out to the Shāh the need of cherishing able men, explained the duties of a King, and concluded with reference to the suppression of Khān Jahān's rebellion, the submission of Qutbulmulk, the campaign against the 'Ādilshāh, the capture of Huglī and the extirpation of the Portuguese. As usual a request was made for the speedy return of the envoy.[13]

Safdar Khān sent to Persia.

When Safdar Khān arrived at Isfahān, Shāh Safī had just concluded his successful campaign against Eerwān.[14] The envoy was admitted to audience in Kāshān, and was detained much longer than Shāhjahān had suggested. But his stay at the Persian court served a useful purpose. He followed Shāh Safī like a shadow, and performed the same work for his master, the Moghul Emperor, as was performed by Zambal Beg in India during the reign of Jahāngīr. In other words, he conveyed to Shāhjahān news about the political preoccupations of Shāh Safī.

His reception in Persia.

The death of Shāh 'Abbās I. broke the spell of the external and internal peace in Persia, and her enemies began to revive their aggressive schemes. On the west, Murād IV, the 'fighting Sultan' of Turkey, and on the east the Uzbegs and Astrākhāns, were a constant menace to Persia.

Events after the death of Shāh Abbās I.

12 Qazvīnī, ff. 245b-46b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 419—21. Khuld-i-Barīn, ff. 40-41b.

13 Qazvīnī, ff. 269b—273; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 477—86.

14 Khuld-i-Barīn, ff. 90b and 107.

The latter were repeatedly repulsed by the governors of Khurāsān, but Murād IV was both more powerful and more obstinate. In 1630 he entered Kurdistān, defeated a Persian army and captured Hamadān. Next year he led an unsuccessful campaign against Baghdād, and four years later he seized Eerwān (1635), though the Shāh recovered it in the spring of the following year.[15]

But the recovery of Eerwān did not end the warfare on the western frontier. Shortly after, Ahmad Beg Khān Ardlān, the Governor of Kurdistān, rebelled, and with the help of Turks created much trouble. But the rebel and his allies were defeated by a Persian army, and Ahmad Beg Khān was killed. This was followed by the report of a threatened attack on Baghdād by Murād IV, the invasion of Khurāsān by Uzbegs, and an unsuccessful attempt of the Turks to recover Eerwān.[16] These political troubles must have been a source of great worry to Shāh Safī, and must have caused much distraction in his court. Of all these changing phases, Safdar Khān wrote in detail to his master.

While Shāh Safī was engaged with his enemies, there arrived at his court Mirzā Husain, an envoy from India.[17] The letter which he brought announced to the Shāh the conquest of Daulatābād, the suppression of Jujhār Singh's rebellion, the invasion of Bījāpūr and submission of the 'Ādilshāh who promised to pay two millions of rupees, and the payment of four millions of rupees by the Qutbshāh. In conclusion Shāhjahān made a reference to the appointment of Aurangzīb as Viceroy of the Deccan, and his return to Agra. As the trend of the letter shows, the despatch of Mirzā Husain to the Persian court was meant to reassure the Shāh of the friendly attitude of the Emperor of India. But its real purpose was to obtain a confirmation of the news communicated by Safdar Khān.

15 Sykes, 'History of Persia,' Vol. II, pp. 210-11.

16 For these troubles see Qisas-ul-Khāqānī by Walī Qulī Shāmlū.

17 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 257—66; Khuld-i-Barīn, f. 114.

In fact, it seems that about this time negotiations were opened by some Indian officers, especially Qulij Khān, with 'Alī Mardān Khān for the surrender of Qandahār.[18] The latter was alarmed by the strict administration of the new Vizīr Sārū Taqī who brought to the notice of the Shāh the huge arrears of revenue due from him. 'Alī Mardān Khān was summoned to court to clear his position ; but he procrastinated and offered excuses.[19] When pressed further he openly declared his lack of confidence in the prime-minister, but he promised to pay a yearly revenue of 12,000 *tūmāns* provided he was left alone. He sent to court his son, Md. 'Alī Beg but the Shāh was not satisfied, and in spite of Jānī Khān Qūrchībāshī's suggestion to postpone stringent measures against the governor of Qandahār, he ordered Siyāyūsh Qollar Āqāsī, who had been sent to relieve 'Alī Mardān Khān, to send him to court in any way possible.

'Alī Mardān Khān alarmed.

The arrival of Siyāyūsh with a large army before Qandahār drove 'Alī Mardān Khān to desperation. To add to his trouble, even the garrison was not unanimously loyal to him, and some Qizlbāshī soldiers deserted to Siyāyūsh.[20] In these circumstances resistance was out of the question. In his fear of the vengeance of the Shāh, he eagerly caught at the suggestion of Malik Mughdūd, a leading Zamīndār of Qandahār,[21] to solicit the Moghul's help. Accordingly, he sent Mughdūd's brother

Appeals for help to Moghul officers.

18 Bahāri-i-Sukhan, f. 45.

19 In Khuld-i-Barīn a list of charges against 'Alī Mardān Khān is given (ff. 114—116b); Tāhir Vahīd says that the suspicions of 'Alī Mardān Khān were baseless (f. 236). Walī Qulī Shāmlū agrees with Tāhir Vahīd (ff. 43 and 74); Bernier says that Qandahār was treacherously surrendered by 'Alī Mardān Khān because he had many enemies at the Persian court and was afraid to go there to render an account of his administration (p. 184).

20 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 32.

21 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 3[illegible] According to Walī Qulī Shāmlū it was Mashhad 'Alī (f. 44).

Kāmrān to 'Ewaz Khān Qaqshāl, the commander of Ghaznī, and Sa'īd Khān the governor of Kabul to request them to come to his assistance at this critical hour. He also wrote a letter to Shāhjahān promising to surrender Qandahār if an officer with adequate troops were sent there to take over its charge. But when later 'Alī Mardān Khān's position grew more critical, he repeated his appeal with greater fervour to Sa'īd Khān and Qulij Khān.

'Ewaz Khān left Ghaznī on February 14, 1638, with 1000 troops, and in 12 days reached Qandahār. 'Alī Mardān Khān immediately admitted him into the fort, and recited the *Khutba* in Shāhjahān's name on February 28 and despatched to court nine newly coined *muhrs*, with a letter of submission intimating the arrival of 'Ewaz Khān. Meanwhile Sa'īd Khān marched from Kabul, reached Qilāt Ghilza'ī, which was surrendered to him, and pushed on to Qandahār, where he arrived four days after Ewaz Khān.

Qandahār surrendered.

Meanwhile new trouble arose among the garrison, some of whom bitterly resented the action of 'Alī Mardān Khān, and were in secret correspondence with Siyāyūsh. The leader of this hostile party was Md. Amīn, the Qāzī of Qandahār. He suggested to 'Alī Mardān Khān to murder 'Ewaz Khān treacherously, and to send his head to the Shāh, and it seems that the former was much impressed with his arguments. Shortly after, another officer, Mashhad Qulī, came to 'Alī Mardān Khān and when the latter told him of his mental conflict, he very soon convinced him of the futility of changing his attitude when things had gone so far. 'Alī Mardān Khān slept peacefully that night, and next morning formally handed over the fort to the Imperialists.[22] Still the presence of Siyāyūsh was a nightmare to 'Alī Mardān Khān who anxiously awaited the arrival of reinforcements from Kabul and Multan.

Trouble among the garrison.

22 Qisas, f. 44.

When Shāhjahān received the despatches of Qulij Khān and Sa'īd Khān and the letters of 'Alī Mardān Khān, he was thrilled with joy. The surrender of Qandahār, especially after his brilliant victories in the Deccan, was regarded by him as an event of crowning glory. He issued urgent orders to Sa'īd Khān to march quickly to the assistance of 'Alī Mardān Khān with five hundred thousand rupees from Kabul treasury, of which he was to give one hundred thousand to 'Alī Mardān Khān, to keep two hundred thousand himself, and to distribute the remaining two hundred thousand among other servants. Further he was directed to reward adequately Malik Mughdūd, his brother, and other followers of 'Alī Mardān Khān.[23]

Shāhjahān thrilled with joy.

To complete the arrangements for the safety of Qandahār, the Emperor promoted Qulij Khān to the command of 5,000 *zāt* and 5,000 *suwār* and entrusted to him the defence of the fort. Yūsuf Md. Khān Tāshqandī, governor of Bhakkar and Jān Nisār, governor of Seistān were ordered to march to Qandahār, as a help to the garrison in case the Persian army attempted to recover its possession. As a further precaution, Prince Shujā' was promoted to the command of 12,000 *zāt* and 8,000 *suwār* and sent to Kabul. He was ordered to march to Qandahār only if Shāh Safī led the campaign against it; otherwise he was to send Khān Daurān, Jai Singh, Amar Singh, Gaj Singh, Mādho Singh, Lahrāsp, etc. Instructions were issued to Wazīr Khān, governor of the Panjāb, to arrange for the supply of provisions to this army.

His arrangements for the safety of Qandahār.

To revert to affairs at Qandahār, we find that after his arrival there, Sa'īd Khān surveyed the existing situation. The prevalence of suspicion and hostility among the garrison, traceable to the presence of Siyāyūsh, readily attracted his attention, and he planned to dislodge the

Persians repulsed.

[23] Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 35; Tāhir Vahīd is wrong when he suggests that the Emperor of India sent Safdar Khān to take over the charge of Qandahār (f. 24).

outside enemy and restore order. Leaving his son and 'Alī Mardān Khān inside the fort, he marched out on April 1. He advanced in full battle array against the enemy, and the conflict opened with the closing in of the advance guards of the rival parties. Rājā Jagat Singh who led the Imperialists, stood the charge of the assailants, and compelled them to beat a retreat. This was followed by general fighting all along the line, in which the Moghul right wing, led by 'Alī Mardān Khān's men, gave way. But the timely arrival of Sa'īd Khān saved the situation. The troops rallied, and repulsed the attack. The struggle came to an end. Siyāyūsh fled across the Halmand, pursued by the Imperialists, who seized his entire camp. Sa'īd Khān returned to Qandahār, and sent a report to the Emperor who ordered him to reduce Bist and Zamīndāwar.[24]

While these feverish activities consequent upon the occupation of Qandahār were going on, Yādgār Beg, Shāh Safī's envoy, who was sent with Safdar Khān, arrived at the Moghul court. In the letter which he brought, Shāh Safī gave a pompous description of his success against the mighty Sultān of Turkey in recovering Eerwān.[25] As usual the envoy was received with due honour at Agra. But the court historian does not mention that Safdar Khān accompanied him.

Arrival of Yādgār Beg from Persia.

It seems that he lingered on in Persia to acquaint himself with the attitude and preparations of Shāh Safī. When he arrived at Qandahār he told Sa'īd Khān how the Shāh was bitterly feeling the loss, and very often remarked that he could afford to lose either Eerwān or Baghdād, but never Qandahār, for the recovery of which he would spare no exertions. Further Safdar Khān told Sa'īd Khān that the Shāh was intending to send a large

Return of Safdar Khān.

24 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, pp. 24—54; Khuld-i-Barīn dismisses the battle only in one sentence (f. 116).

25 Jāmi'-al-Marāsilāt, ff. 253b-54; Qisas, f. 43; Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 93.

army.[26] But fortunately for the Moghuls, the reduction of Baghdād by Murād IV kept Shāh Safī fully occupied with the western frontier ; and when after concluding peace with Turkey he turned to Qandahār, it was too late, because the position of the Imperialists had become quite strong there. None the less the Shāh ordered Rustam Khān to march to Khurāsān and assemble troops for the campaign ; but before the scheme could materialise the Shāh died on May 2, 1642.

Mission of Mirzā Husain to Persia.

A word here about the mission of Mirzā Husain. He was cordially received at the Persian court, and Shāh Safī very soon replied to the letter of Shāhjahān. He addressed the Moghul Emperor as 'Uncle,' expressed joy at his success, but eschewed all mention of the Deccan rulers.[27] The omission was significant, since the Shāh was on amicable terms both with Bījāpūr and Golconda, and did not like to see them coerced by the Moghul Emperor. The only politic way to hint his disapproval was to omit all mention of the subject. As to the Persian envoy in India, viz., Yādgār Beg, he returned to his country in 1639, and in the letter which he carried for his master Shāhjahān justified and apologised for the Qandahār incident, and requested the Shāh to forget it.[28] But henceforward relations between the Moghul and Safavid courts were anything but cordial.

'Abbās II.

Shāh Safī was succeeded by 'Shāh Abbās II who was only a child of eleven years at the time of his accession. During his minority the administration was carried on by Sārū Taqī, the Vizīr. Fortunately for Persia, its outside enemies were no longer active. Sultān Murād was dead, and had been succeeded by Ibrāhīm, who was not so ambitious as his predecessor, and the Uzbegs were involved

26 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 49; Tāhir Vahīd says that the Shāh issued orders to Rustam Khān to assemble the army in Khurāsān, but he died (f. 24).

27 Jāmi'-al-Marāsilāt, f. 254b.

28 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 125.

with their own internal troubles. Naturally, Sārū Taqī considered it an opportune moment to launch a campaign against Qandahār. He ordered Rustam Khān to reassemble the troops which had been dispersed after the death of the late Shāh. When intelligence of these preparations reached Shāhjahān, he ordered Prince Dārā to march with a large army to meet the contingency. Upon this Sārū Taqī wisely gave up the idea.[29]

On his return from Kashmīr when Shāhjahān was staying at Lahore with the intention of going to Kabul to supervise the Balkh campaign, he despatched Jān Nisār Khān on March 26, 1646, as his envoy to Persia.[30] This mission, the first after the death of Shāh Safī, indicated a desire on the part of Shāhjahān to resume the friendly relations with the Shāh which had been broken after the occupation of Qandahār. Moreover, it was necessary to secure the neutrality of Shāh 'Abbās II in the affairs of the Astrākhān house, since the Moghul Emperor wanted to prosecute his designs in Trans-Oxiana. The pretext adopted for sending the envoy was to congratulate Shāh 'Abbās II on his accession. On the face of it, it was absurd.

Jān Nisār Khān despatched to Persia.

Jān Nisār Khān carried a very lengthy letter for the Shāh. From the point of view of contemporary diplomacy it is very interesting. In it we come across a strange mixture of condolence and congratulations, advice and apology. Through its florid style runs a strong current of selfish design. As was the custom in those days, it opens with the praise of God and the Prophet; then there are a few words to express sorrow on the demise of Shāh Safī, which Shāhjahān says, occurred because of his inattention to the advice he gave in the letter sent through Safdar Khān. This is followed by congratulations on his accession. Then comes the main portion and reference to the Qandahār affair: "It is known to every one that the submission of 'Alī

Contents of the letter.

29 Tāhir Vahīd says that this expedition was given up because of Dārā's return (f. 24); Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 139.

30 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, pp. 492—500: Tāhir Vahīd, ff. 61—64. Qisas, f. 54.

Mardān Khān to this court was dictated by necessity, and it was not voluntary." His action is justified on the ground of the excesses of the late Shāh. Then Shāhjahān requests that the son of 'Alī Mardān Khān who was still in Persia, may be sent to India. The letter concludes with an offer of friendly help and assistance. The mission of Jān Nisār Khān proved successful.[31]

But it was not the friendly gesture of Shāhjahān which kept the Persian monarch silent. The real cause of his inactivity was the political condition of that country. Shāh 'Abbās II was yet a minor, and the evils of a minority administration rendered the pursuit of a strong foreign policy impossible. The minister Sārū Taqī was gathering the entire power into his hands, and removing his rivals one after another. He put to death Rustam Khān and his brothers, and Mīr Fathullah, the head of the artillery. Many officers were dismissed at his instance, because they could not see eye to eye with him. At length dissatisfaction against him grew apace, and he was murdered[32] on October 1, 1645.

Thus Shāhjahān could carry on his operations in Trans-Oxiana undisturbed, and he invaded Balkh. The ruler Nazr Md. fled to Persia and sought the protection of the Shāh. After his victories Shāhjahān sent a letter to Shāh 'Abbās II through Arsalān Beg,[33] describing the Trans-Oxiana campaign and offering a justification for it. He wrote that the Musalmans were being tyrannised in that country, and to save their life and honour he had left Lahore, come to Kabul, and despatched Prince Murād to conquer Balkh. The concluding words of this letter deserve notice: "Thanks be to God that Balkh and Badakhshān have been subdued. May He render this victory blissful to us, who are suppliants at His door-step and grant us the possession of Samarqand and

Shāhjahān's letter to Shāh 'Abbās II after the Balkh campaign.

31 Jāma'ul Inshā', ff. 122 b—126 b.

32 Tāhir Vahīd, ff. 48-49.

33 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, pp. 595—602.

Bokhāra." But the success in Trans-Oxiana was as transient as it was quick. By October 1, 1647, the Moghuls were compelled to leave that inhospitable country.

Lowered prestige of the Moghul army.

The failure of the Moghuls in Balkh gave a severe blow to their military prestige in Trans-Oxiana. The two campaigns conducted one after another in quick succession tired the soldiers of the Moghul army, and the trying climate broke their spirits. Moreover, by 1648 Shāh 'Abbās II had come of age, and assumed control of his government. He was brave and ambitious, and wished to signalise his reign by some remarkable achievement ; and nothing seemed to him to give a greater promise of glory than to measure swords with the Emperor of India. His prestige demanded that he should attempt to recover Qandahār, and the exhaustion of the Moghul troops seemed a great advantage to him.

The Shāh's preparations to recover Qandahār.

The Shāh made his preparations with great secrecy, and took every necessary precaution against the communication of news to India. He dismissed the two Moghul envoys staying at his court. Next he assured himself of the safety of his western and north-eastern frontiers. The arrival of ambassadors from Nazr Md., Abul Ghāzī Khān of Urkanj, and Sultān Ibrāhīm[34] convinced him that he could rely on their pacific intentions and carry on his plan unhampered. It was only thus that he could muster his full resources for the contest.

Following closely in the footsteps of his great ancestor, Shāh 'Abbās II sent a letter to Shāhjahān through Shāh Qulī Beg, commending the action of the Moghul Emperor in restoring Balkh to Nazr Md. and requesting very politely the cession of Qandahār.[35] What the reply to this request would be, was fully known to the Shāh, and in anticipation of it he had ordered full military preparations. He collected stores and provisions

34 Qisas says that this ambassador brought the good wishes of Sultān Ibrāhīm for the proposed campaign against Qandahār (f. 55).

35 Munshā't-i-Tāhir Vahīd, ff. 25-26.

at strategic points, mobilised several huge guns, and assembled a large army ready to march at any hour when so ordered. It was the first military campaign of the reign and hence scrupulous care was taken against all risk of failure. As expected, the Moghul Emperor rejected the demand of the Shāh who therefore marched to Qandahār, where he arrived on December 16, 1648, and immediately ordered the investment of the fort.

Shāhjahān's attempt to prevent its fall.

The news that Shāh 'Abbās II was intending to recover Qandahār created a great stir in the Moghul Court. Shāhjahān wished to move immediately to Kabul, and save the situation. But his ministers, who were afraid to face the severities of winter, counselled him against the proposal. So the court after leaving Dihlī stopped at Lahore to hear of further developments in Qandahār. And though 'Alī Mardān Khān, the governor of Kabul, in view of the threatened attack, quickly despatched 5,000 troops and five hundred thousand rupees to add to the defence of the fort, the move proved futile. Thus the timidity of Shāhjahān's counsellors and the lack of vigilance on his own part lost to him one of the two key forts on the north-western frontier.[36]

Activities of Shāh 'Abbās II.

It is unnecessary to recount the details of the Persian activity in Qandahār.[37] Shāh 'Abbās II besieged the three main forts simultaneously, and pressed the siege of Qandahār very vigorously. Pardal Khān, governor of Bist, capitulated after a brief resistance, and the garrison of Zamīndāwar was granted a truce till the fall of Qandahār. Here the commander Daulat Khān was faced with a complicated situation. Advanced in age, he was devoid of that grim determination so necessary to steer through a crisis. Moreover, his followers were not unanimous in their loyalty to him. A party led by Shādī Khān pressed for surrendering the fort immediately. Dissatisfied with the attitude of Daulat Khān, he began to betray the secrets of

36 Wāris, f. 411—13.

37 For details see Walī Qulī Shāmlū's Qisas-al-Khāqānī.

the fort to the invaders, and on one occasion wrote an account of the prevailing dissension among the garrison and pinned it to an arrow, which he let fly among the Persians.

Upon this, Shāh 'Abbās II wrote a letter to Daulat Khān full of threats and conciliation. He emphasised the strength of his army, which, he said, was the same as had recovered Eerwān from the Turks. He also held out to Daulat Khān a promise of respectable employment in case of his submission. Shādī Khān admitted the bearer of the letter into the fort, and informed Daulat Khān of his arrival. The latter instead of dealing sternly with Shādī Khān and meting out an exemplary punishment to him immediately, only sent for him and demanded an explanation. Later, he consented to receive the messenger, and after reading the letter of the Shāh, requested for five days' truce, which was granted.

On the fifth day, 'Alī Qulī, a Persian officer, came to the entrenchment of Shādī Khān to know the decision of Daulat Khān. The latter during the interval tried his best to induce the garrison to continue resistance, but where force was needed persuasion proved of no avail. At length the surrender of the Wais Qarn gate to the Persians by Shādi Khān rendered the position of Daulat Khān entirely untenable. To add to his troubles the garrison deserted their posts and refused to work. In these circumstances Daulat Khān, seeing no other alternative, capitulated on terms. The fort was occupied by the Persians on February 11, 1649. The Shāh appointed Mihrāb Khān its commander, and sent Shāh Qulī Khān with an apologetic letter to Shāhjahān.

Fall of Qandahār.

It is very difficult to arrive at a conclusive decision on the rival claims of the Persian and Moghul monarchs regarding the possession of Qandahār. If natural boundaries and the rights of priority be taken into consideration, then Qandahār rightfully belonged to the Moghuls, seeing that the river Halmand is the boundary line of Persia, and Bābur had first conquered it from its original master. The Persians based their claims on the invitation of Shāh Husain

Remarks.

Arghūn to Shāh Ismā'īl to occupy it, and on the promise of Humāyūn to cede it in return for the help which Shāh Tahmāsp gave him in recovering his country. At first sight the Persian claims look the stronger, but if we examine the nature of the help which Shāh Tahmāsp afforded to Humāyūn, and the attitude of the Persian army towards the latter, doubts crop up. Again it was Shāh Tahmāsp who started the game of duplicity, which resolved the question of the occupation of Qandahār into a trial of strength by the rival parties for the maintenance of prestige.

Aurangzīb's first campaign.

When Shāhjahān received the despatch of Daulat Khān reporting the investment of Qandahār by the Shāh, he ordered Prince Aurangzīb and Sa'dullah Khān[38] to march with 50,000 troops to the relief of the fort. The two commanders joined at Bhīra and pushed on to Peshawar, whence by way of Kohāt, Jamrūd and Jalālābād, they arrived at Kabul on March 25, 1649. In the meantime Qandahār had fallen, and the Emperor ordered the Prince to quicken his pace, and reach there before the Persians consolidated their position.

In spite of scanty stores and the difficulty of securing them on the way, the Prince and Sa'dullah Khān obeyed the orders of the Emperor implicitly. Without delaying unnecessarily at Kabul, they marched to Ghaznī, where they stopped for a fortnight to provide themselves with whatever stores were procurable. They resumed their march and arrived at Qilāt Ghilza'ī on May 9. From this place in accordance with the Emperor's instructions, who had arrived at Kabul, Sa'dullah Khān pushed on with five divisions of the army to prevent the garrison in Qandahār from reaping the spring harvest. He arrived there on May 14, and the Prince joined him two days later ; and on the same day the siege of Qandahār was opened.

Unfortunately the Imperialists had to suffer reverses from the very start. Rājā Mān Gwāliorī and Bhāo Singh, son of

38 See Sarkār's 'History of Aurangzīb,' Vol. I, Chapters VII-VIII.

Jagat Singh, in their youthful enthusiasm attempted to storm the Chilzīna Hill, which they noticed was scantily defended. But Mihrāb Khān secretly sent there a party of musketeers, who opened a heavy fire on the Imperialists as soon as they arrived within range. The Rājpūts retreated with thinned ranks; however, they built a stockade half way down the hill, which they held for some time.

While the Prince was busy with the siege of Qandahār he despatched Qulij Khān to plunder the neighbouring districts. The latter successfully seized the standing crops round Bist, and raided Khunshī in Sīstān. He then despatched Qibād Khān and Allah Qulī Khān to sack Zamīndāwar; but when these commanders were returning laden with booty they were attacked by Persians led by Najf Qulī Mīr Ākhūr and Hājī Manuchahr who drove them across the river Halmand. The defeat of his men led Qulij Khān to retreat to Kushak Nākhūd whence he fell back to Sang Bālā Hisār, 24 miles south-west of Qandahār.

The first sign of the approaching Persian host was given when a party of about 2000 men advanced to within four miles of Prince Aurangzīb's camp, and lifted a large number of cattle. They were, however, pursued and compelled to abandon their booty. The Prince in consultation with Sa'dullah Khān despatched Rustam Khān to succour Qulij Khān whom he joined at Bālā Hisār on August 25. From this place spies were despatched to obtain intelligence regarding the movements of the Persians. The Moghul army now encamped midway between Bālā Hisār and Shāh Mīr; and shortly afterwards Murtazā Qulī, the Persian commander, arrived within striking distance.

Battle of Shāh Mīr.

The contest began with an indecisive skirmish between the scouts of the rival parties. The Moghuls fell back and took up their position at Shāh Mīr on the Arghandāb; and when they sighted the Persian army, Rustam Khān arranged his men battle array. Behind his long line of artillery was the advance-

guard led by Nazar Bahādur and Rāo Satrsāl. The right centre under Rustam Khān, and the left centre under Qulij Khān formed the second line, the two ends of which were protected by the right flank under Sardār Khān and the left flank under Shād Khān. The enemy arranged their troops in a similar manner, and the commander-in-chief Murtazā Qulī who arrived the same morning, vowed that he would not break his fast till he had defeated the Indian army.

The battle of Shāh Mīr opened with a heavy discharge of fire from either side. While the fighting was going on along the front lines, the Persians wheeled round and pressed on the flanks and rear of the Moghuls. Qulij Khān and Shād Khān stood invincible against their attack, but Sardār Khān gave way. Rustam Khān marched in time to his succour, and after a contested struggle repulsed the charging hosts. The Persians' offensive was broken, and they retreated under cover of night. Some of their guns and matchlocks which they abandoned on the field were seized by the victorious Moghuls.

This victory was the only relieving feature in the first Qandahār campaign, but it in no way improved the chances of ultimate success. The siege dragged on, and Prince Aurangzīb was at his wit's end. At length upon the suggestion of Sa'dullah Khān an underground channel was constructed to drain the water from the ditch. But the garrison foiled the efforts of the besiegers by opening a heavy fire from the fort. The approach of winter, together with the lack of siege guns, led the Emperor to order his officers to abandon the siege. Accordingly Prince Aurangzīb began his retreat from Qandahār on September 3, 1649.

Shāhjahān declines to receive the Persian envoy.

About a month after the beginning of the siege of Qandahār, Shāh Qulī, the Persian envoy, arrived at Kabul. The Emperor was so irritated that he did not permit him audience, but asked Ja'far Khān to look to his comforts. He was dismissed after a month without a written reply to the Shāh's letter, and Prince Aurangzīb was ordered to let him pass to Persia.

Ja'far Beg, on behalf of the Emperor charged him with the following verbal message: "Tell your master that it behoved him to continue the amicable and friendly relations subsisting between the two houses. But the value of powerful friends is recognised by those endowed with intelligence . . . . In any case, when his (Shāh's) campaign against Qandahār was brought to our notice we sent the Prince with an innumerable army to contest its possession, and we are staying at Kabul. As the Shāh on hearing of the approach of our army has returned to Herāt, the Prince, who was eager to fight a battle with him, has opened the siege of Qandahār. By grace of God I have done whatever was possible, and what more shall be done will be witnessed by him and by the world."[39]

The haughtiness of this message is equalled only by the shame which befell the Moghul army at Qandahār. In his unmitigated pride of power Shāhjahān failed to take note either of the Persian resources or of the power of their resistance. He forgot that never before had the fortress of Qandahār been taken by storm or assault. But to retrieve his honour he wanted to rush through the campaign, and consequently the army which he despatched was adequately equipped neither with munitions nor with provisions, and Qandahār was not a fertile country to feed such a big army.

Causes of the Moghul failure.

But the crowning folly of the Moghul Emperor was to lose sight of the improved artillery of the Persians. The latter, owing to their constant warfare with the Turks, understood the use of fire-arms better than the Moghuls, who depended for the manning of their artillery upon half-caste Europeans. In Qandahār besides many others there were two guns of out standing capacity; and the Moghuls had nothing to match them. There was certainly no dearth of personal bravery and courage among the rank and file of the Moghul army, but of what avail could it be in face of a devastating fire which made

39 Wāris, f. 463-465 (Add 6556).

no distinction between the courageous and the coward? Moreover, the Persian commander Mihrāb was endowed with indefatigable energy and cool determination; and the discomfiture of the Moghuls was due no less to his capacity than to the supreme artillery at his command.

The attempt on Qandahār was given up in 1649, to be repeated again in 1652. As early as August of the previous year, Shāhjahān while returning from Kashmir issued orders to his officers to assemble for the projected campaign. Shāh Shujā' was asked to come from Bengal; Rājā Jai Singh, Rājā Jaswant Singh, Rustam Khān, Allah Vardī Khān, Rājā Vithaldās, etc., were ordered to reach the court by the 20th January of the following year, i.e., 1652. Rustam Khān joined the Emperor at Lahore with two hundred thousand rupees. Shāhjahān left Lahore after celebrating his weighing ceremony, and arrived at Kabul on April 4, 1652.

The second attempt.

As on the previous occasion, so now, the campaign was led by Prince Aurangzīb and Sa'dullah Khān who were ordered to open the siege on May 2, 1652. The troops numbered between 50,000 and 60,000 of whom one-fifth were musketeers and artillery-men. "The officers formed one-twentieth of the strength. The artillery consisted of two big cannons, some of which carried 70 lb. shot, twenty of small calibre, each carrying 4 or 5 lb. shot, twenty swivels mounted on elephants, and a hundred on camels. The transport was entrusted to choice elephants from the Emperor's own stables, besides many others owned by the generals, and three thousand camels."

The incidents of the former siege were repeated. The attempt of Rājrūp and Mahābat Khān to storm the Chilzīna Hill and the Qaitūl ridge ended disastrously; the trenches of Prince Aurangzīb and Sa'dullah Khān could not move further, and the chances of success remained as remote as ever. The artillery of the Imperialists, on which they counted so much, failed them at a critical moment. Eighty guns burst in the entrenchment of the Prince because his men tried to shoot

heavier shells, two became inactive in Qāsim Khān's entrenchment, and those in Sa'dullah Khān's entrenchment could not be worked properly through lack of experienced hands. Opposed to this were the skilled Persian gunners whose shots rained death among the Moghuls, and who calmly waited till the enemy reached within the range of their fire.

During the siege, Prince Aurangzīb tried to corrupt the Persian commander Autār Khān who had succeeded Mihrāb Khān in Qandahār. He sent to him Hājī Bahādur with a message offering him an honourable post in the Moghul employ. But Autār Khān taunted the messenger with the previous failure of the Prince and sarcastically remarked that if the latter was ashamed to return to India, he might go to Persia and seek service with the Shāh as his ancestor Humāyūn had done before With this reply Hājī Bahādur was sent to the Moghul camp.

Failure.

Thus in spite of the glitter and grandeur of their preparations the Moghuls were unable to achieve anything, and Shāhjahān ordered the siege to be abandoned. Prince Aurangzīb tried to persuade him to give him a little more time, but the Emperor was wiser than to do so. The army was tired, and the soldiers were eager to return home after their prolonged but unfruitful exertions. Accordingly the Prince left Qandahār on July 9, and arrived at Kabul where he joined his father on August 7.

Preparations for the third attempt.

The two successive failures of Aurangzīb and the heavy loss of men and money were not enough to subdue finally the pride of Shāhjahān. He still entertained some hopes of success, which were brightened by a promise of Dārā to achieve what had not been achieved so far. The *sūbas* of Kabul and Multan were assigned to him, his rank was raised to 30,000 *zāt* and 20,000 *suwār* and Shāhjahān gave him a chance to try his hand at Qandahār. The Prince came to Lahore with his father and ordered extensive preparations, especial attention being paid to the improvement and strength of artillery. Two big guns each carrying shots weighing a maund and sixteen seers were

cast under the superintendence of Qāsim Khān *Mīr Ātish* and Md. Sālih, the *mushrif* of the Imperial artillery; and a third was cast under the supervision of Ja'far Khān, *Mīr Ātish* of the Prince. Thirty thousand shots, 5,000 *maunds* of powder, 500 *maunds* of lead and 14,000 rockets completed the siege train.

As regards man power, the Prince was accompanied by 107 *mansabdārs*; 5,000 *ahadīs*, half of whom were mounted musketeers and the other half mounted archers; 2,000 footmen including matchlockmen, gunners, and rocketeers, 6,000 sappers, 500 miners and 500 water-carriers. Among the leading officers were Jai Singh, Qulij Khān, Rustam Khān, Satrsāl and 'Alī Mardān Khān. Eight hundred elephants, and 3,000 camels formed the means of transport, and two *carors* of rupees were placed at the disposal of the Prince. Thus from all points of view this was to be the grandest campaign of the reign, but proved a signal failure.[40]

Dārā leaves Lahore.

Dārā left Lahore on February 11, 1653 and in 20 days reached Multan where he halted for some time to enable the officers to join him. He crossed the Indus on March 22, and issued strict orders to his men not to molest the inhabitants on the way. Although a large part of the army had not yet arrived, as the auspicious day for beginning the siege was approaching, the Prince despatched Rustam Khān to Qandahār to choose the ground for encampment.

Arrives at Qandahār.

Dārā arrived at Qandahār on April 23, 1653, and formally opened the siege by throwing out entrenchments. He ordered Rustam Khān to watch the Bist road and prevent reinforcements reaching the garrison. The disposition of the Imperial forces was similar in plan to that adopted on the two previous occasions. The Prince encamped near a tank behind the Lakkah Hill in the garden of M. Kāmrān, a mile from the fort. Rājā Jai Singh

40 Wāris, ff. 468--73b. (Add 6556). For details of Dārā's campaign see the Qisas-al-Khāqānī and Latā'if-ul-Akhbār.

was posted opposite the postern gate, Qulij Khān opposite the Wais Qarn gate, Mahābat Khān opposite the Bābā Walī gate, and Ikhlās Khān opposite the Chilzīna Hill. The artillery was posted at strategic points in between the trenches.

Siege opened.

When the garrison obtained intelligence of the advance of the Indian army, Autār Khān sent a fast messenger Qurbān Qulī, to court assistance. The Shāh ordered Hājī Manuchahr and Waqlān Beg to march to the relief of Qandahār. Moreover the Commander-in-Chief 'Alī Qulī Khān was ordered to assemble his men in Bustām. But the Moghuls arrived at Qandahār before the auxiliary forces could reach there. Nevertheless, undaunted by their superiority of numbers, Autār Khān greeted the invaders with a hot fire from the fort. He especially selected the entrenchment of the Prince, and directed his guns towards it with great effect.

In accordance with the instructions of the Emperor, Dārā sent Rustam Khān to hold the line of the Halmand against the Persians. He reached Bist on May 21, 1653 and after ten days' siege compelled the commander Mehdī Qulī to capitulate on terms. Shortly after, the fort of Garashk was also occupied.

After the fall of Bist, Dārā addressed a poem to the garrison in which he threatened them with a wholesale massacre, if they did not surrender peacefully. But the latter coolly replied:

> Let the sword of the entire world move,
> It would not cut, if God does not will it.

After threat came persuasion, and the Prince offered tempting rewards, and honourable posts for desertion. There were some who yielded to temptation and left the fort, but the majority showed a determination to resist to the end.

While these melodramatic negotiations were going on Rājā Rājrūp made an attempt on July 14, to carry the Chilzīna Hill by assault. He constructed a covered passage by means of logs of wood and planks; and under its shelter began to make the ascent. He also opened fire to batter down the tower which protected the hill, but it proved beyond the range of his gun. To make matters worse, the defenders showered bullets on the

invaders from behind the tower, and caused heavy casualties among them.

A similar failure was sustained by Rustam Khān. After the capture of Bist he was ordered to reduce Zamīndāwar. He reached there and plundered the neighbouring districts, and on one occasion even crossed the Halmand and dispersed some Persians who had assembled there. But soon his position became untenable owing to the resistance of the garrison, and the inroads of the advancing Persian army. He left Zamīndāwar and retired to Bist. Even here he could not make a stand, but abandoned Bist, and retreated to Qandahār ; this was highly disapproved by the Emperor.

When Dārā was coming from Multan on the way a caravan leader informed him that there was a great scarcity of provisions among the garrison of Qandahār ; accordingly he thought he would be able to reduce the fort by prolonging the operations. This rumour was current among the Moghul army, and explains to some extent their attitude of inactivity. To counteract it Autār Khān dropped a letter in the entrenchment of Ghairat Khān saying that there were provisions enough in the fort to last them for two years. Further he taunted the Imperialists on their failure to achieve anything so far, and challenged them to deliver an assault. Dārā replied that he was expecting his two big guns at any moment when he would batter down the defences. Autār Khān ridiculed the threat and wrote : " So long as my head is on my shoulders, the surrender of Qandahār is impossible ; so give up the idea and return to Hindustān."

The sarcastic challenge of Autār Khān proved effective. Dārā determined to make a final effort to capture the fort. All the big guns were collected at one point, so that under the cover of their fire the Imperialists might reach the ditch and drop sackfuls of earth into it. But the scheme failed. Next an attempt was made to drain the ditch by breaking the dams ; but the garrison maintained their supply of water from other sources. At length about the beginning of August the long expected big guns arrived and the Imperialists opened fire, and

demolished three hundred yards of defences, and also the outer earthwork. But approach to the fort was impossible because of the mud at its base.

It was now four months since the siege had begun and still the chances of success were as distant as ever. The Imperialists had exhausted their supply of ammunition, and their fire became silent. Upon this the garrison began to repair the defences. Dārā decided to make one more attempt. It was proposed that while the main army attacked the fort at one point, and drew the entire garrison towards it, Rājā Jai Singh should scale the defences at another point. But from want of cooperation among the various divisions of the party the plan failed, and the Imperialists suffered heavy losses.

Dārā's return.

At last the futility of prolonging the campaign became evident to Shāhjahān. Qandahār was impregnable, and to attempt to carry it by assault or storm was madness. So he recalled Dārā, who left Qandahār on September 27, and reached Multan in October. After a month he arrived at Lahore.

To sum up the causes of the Moghul failure against Qandahār, we find that it was pre-eminently due to their inferior artillery, and their lack of proper acquaintance with fire-arms. Next the Persians were always on the defensive, which advantage was greatly enhanced by the peculiar situation and strength of the fort; which had been immensely improved by 'Alī Mardān Khān. Moreover the two commanders Mihrāb Khān and his successor, Autār Khān were men of especial merit, who scorned danger, possessed sustaining courage and retained the confidence of their followers. Finally the inhospitable land of Qandahār always involved the Moghuls in serious difficulties regarding the maintenance of provisions; and the greatest mistake which the Moghul Emperor committed was to send huge armies necessitating a big camp, which instead of advancing seriously retarded the progress of the Imperialists.

Remarks.

Official relations between the Persian and Moghul court ceased until after the accession of Aurangzīb. On the eve of the War of Succession we find Prince Murād carrying on a vigorous correspondence with Shāh 'Abbās II, whose help he solicited for the consummation of his designs on the throne. In fact the Shāh mobilised some troops in Qandahār to march to Murād's help, when he should summon them; but the contingency never arose.[41] After his discomfiture at the hands of Aurangzīb, Dārā also wrote to the Shāh to seek his protection.[42] But Shāhjahān in his lifetime could never forget the disgrace which his arms suffered in Qandahār.

[41] Munshā't-i-Tāhir Vahīd, ff. 7 and 11 b-12b.

[42] Ibid., ff. 3b-4b.

CHAPTER X

CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS

SHĀHJAHĀN'S court represented the height of kingly splendour. In his reign the Moghul Empire attained to the zenith of its prosperity and affluence. The fame of the wealth of India[1] attracted a stream of foreign visitors from across the seas, who were dazzled by the magnificent grandeur of the Emperor and his surroundings. The gorgeousness of his court surpassed their imaginations, and drew from them unstinted admiration. Bernier, Tavernier and Manucci have left charming accounts of their impressions, and though they are by no means completely reliable, yet from the mass of information which they supply we can gain a fair idea of the picturesqueness and wonders of the Moghul Court.

Court.

The central figure in this magnificent array of pomp and splendour was the Emperor. He was of moderate stature and wheaten complexion. He had an open forehead, raised eyebrows, a slanting but straight nose, bright sparkling eyes of brown colour, but with black eyeballs ; and a wart on the left side of his nose. His mouth was narrow, and he had a beautiful and clear set of teeth. He possessed a sweet voice, and spoke eloquently in Persian. Unlike his father and grandfather, he bore a full-grown beard of the orthodox Muslim type. His arms were neither too long

The Emperor.

[1] For an account of the wealth of India see: Mandelslo, p. 118, Manucci, Vol. I, p. 206; Bernier, p. 202; Manrique says that there were treasuries in every city and that he saw one at Rāj Mahall. Vol. II, p. 274 Tavernier, Vol. I, Chapters VIII and X; Lāhaurī, Vol. II, pp. 713-14; Md. Sādiq, f. 108; Sarkār: Studies in Moghul India (pp. 16—20) gives an authentic account.

nor too short, and there were moles on four fingers of his right hand, which was regarded as an auspicious sign. Thus on the whole his appearance was in perfect accord with his kingly dignity.

His nature.

By nature he was industrious and exacting. He was scrupulously careful of cleanliness. He rarely missed his ordinary prayers, or when at the capital his *Ramzān* fasts. On holy nights he passed half the time in reciting prayers and giving alms. He had a special taste for perfume which was profusely rubbed on his clothes He was polite and courteous in conversation, and never used the word 'thou' even to the lowest menial.

Popular view contradicted

Sarkār has well observed 'that the royal throne was not exactly a bed of roses even in those days. The king had his duties, and his division of time showed that he knew the fact.'[2] The popular view that the life of a Moghul Emperor was an unceasing round of pleasure, lasciviousness, sport and sensuality, is refuted by the very minute details of his daily routine, which we come across in contemporary Persian histories. This routine was strictly adhered to, whether the Emperor was in camp or at the capital. And there is overwhelming evidence to prove that Shāhjahān led a strenuous life, and divided his time evenly between government and sport.

Routine.

He woke up about two watches before[3] sunrise, and after performing his daily ablutions went to his private mosque where sitting on a carpet he waited for the hour of prayer. After saying the morning prayer, he counted his beads till sunrise. When travelling he said these prayers in his private apartments.

2 Sarkār: Studies in Moghul India, p. 15.

3 The daily routine is described by Qazvīnī, Lāhaurī, and by Chandra Bhān in his second Chaman. Manucci refers to consultations in *Ghuslkhāna*, Vol. II, pp. 462-63. In general terms many European travellers describe the routine of the Emperor.

From the mosque he went to the *Jharoka Darshan*[4] where he showed himself to his subjects every morning. This wise practice was instituted by Akbar, and was continued by his successors. The principle underlying it was characterised not so much by vanity as by the real desire on the part of the sovereign to come into closer touch with his subjects. Moreover in an age when the fabric of the Empire rested on the personality of the monarch, it was necessary for him to assure his people that he was clever and in full enjoyment of his bodily vigour. Here the public had free access to him and could seek justice *even against the highest officials of the government, without the assistance of an intermediary.*

Jharoka.

It is doubtful if the common people had courage enough to approach the Emperor. His regal dignity would have overawed them ; but more than that, they would have been afraid to court the animosity of the revengeful and corrupt officers who controlled the administration. But so far as Shāhjahāṅ is concerned it should be noted that he gave ear even to the complaints of his meanest subjects, and was never slow to mete out stern punishments to offenders, even the highest state officers. And it redounds to the credit of the Moghul sovereigns that they placed at the disposal of their subjects an institution which could secure them justice ; if they could not or did not make use of it, it was not entirely the Emperor's fault.

Besides the admission of complaints and public salute the Emperor had many other things to occupy his attention at the time of the *Jharoka Darshan*. Here the newly captured elephants, which could not be brought into the courtyard facing the Hall of Public Audience, were shown to the Emperor. It was from the *Jharoka* (window) that Shāhjahān witnessed his favourite sport of elephant combats. On some days as many as five pairs were made to fight in succession to the delight of

[4] It was a sort of oriel window.

the Emperor. It was here, also that *mansabdārs* passed their contingents in review.

After spending about an hour in *Jharoka Darshan* the Emperor repaired to the Public Hall of Audience known as the *Dīvān-i-'Ām*. It is an imposing building of red sandstone supported on forty pillars. Its three sides open into the adjoining courtyard, and the fourth side is screened by a wall with an alcove in the centre raised above the level of the hall. The alcove is of the purest white marble, richly decorated with *pietra dura* work and low reliefs of flowers. This hall at Agra is simple in design, and lacks that artistic decoration which is so conspicuous in the hall in the Dihlī fort. A similar hall though of modest proportions was built for the same purpose in the Lahore fort. When the Emperor was in camp a place for Public Audience was improvised by erecting large tents.

Dīvān-i-'Ām.

In and outside the hall stood officers, courtiers, soldiers in strict order, awaiting the appearance of the Emperor, and with their gaze fixed on the alcove. The outer fringe of the hall was shut off by silver railings, and only the commanders of two hundred horse or more were permitted to enter. They stood in order of precedence with their faces turned towards the throne. A place near the pillars was assigned only to privileged *mansabdārs*. On the left of the niche stood *Qorchīs* with the royal flags and standards, their backs turned to the wall. On either side, at the foot of the alcove stood the chief officers of State, with their files ready to be laid before the Emperor.

Order of precedence.

Outside the silver railings another space was enclosed by wooden railings painted with red lac. In it were accommodated commanders below the rank of two hundred horse, *ahadīs*, archers, gunners, and some retainers of the higher *mansabdārs*. Outside the wooden railings stood menial servants of *amirs* and foot-soldiers. Admittance within these railings was made by three gates which were closely guarded by watchful officers and mace-bearers.

Business.

The business in the *Dīvān-i-'Ām* began with the appearance of the Emperor at about 7-40 a.m. First the Chief *Bakhshī* presented the petitions of *mansabdārs*, and ushered into the royal presence those who deserved promotion. Those who were appointed abroad received robes of honour. Then the *Sadr* brought to the notice of the Emperor the cases of the poor and destitute, and also introduced to audience the learned and the pious. After that the *Mīr Sāmān* and the *Dīvān Biyūtāt* placed the papers of their departments before the Emperor. Then the *Bakhshī of Ahadīs*, the *Mīr Ātish*, and the *Mushrif of Topkhāna*, presented new recruits to their respective departments. After that, influential *mansabdārs* in court laid before the Emperor the representations or presents from the provincial governors, *dīvāns*, or *bakhshīs*. Often the Emperor personally read these papers, and wrote orders on them. And last, the *'Arz-i-Mukarrar* presented to the Emperor the memoranda relating to *mansab*, *jāgīrs*, and *naqdī*. Serious work being over, the audience was concluded with the inspection of elephants and horses with fixed rations.

Dīvān-i-Khās.

From the *Dīvan-ī-'Ām* the Emperor went to the *Dīvān-ī-Khās*,[5] or the Hall of Private Audience. The halls both in Agra and Dihlī were constructed in the reign of Shāhjahān. Tavernier describes the former,[6] and of the latter Md. Wāris[7] gives a picturesque account. Here the Emperor spent another two hours in transacting such business as for administrative or political reasons could not be done publicly. High ministers of State placed their representations before the Emperor, who either dictated orders or wrote them himself. Special cases of need were reported by the

[5] It was called *Ghuslkhāna* in the reign of Akbar and Jahāngīr, but Shāhjahān renamed it *Daulat Khāna-i-Khās*. Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 220.

[6] Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 105—9.

[7] Wāris, ff. 17—23.

Sadr, who obtained the Emperor's sanction to grants of the *madad-i-mu'āsh* or dole. Here the Emperor inspected the works of art, e.g., painting and embroidery. The *Dārogh-i-'Imārat* was always present here to obtain the Emperor's approval to the plans of royal buildings. These plans were fully discussed here, and in the first part of the reign Āsaf Khān was the chief adviser of the Emperor in affairs connected with architecture. Also in the *Dīvān-i-Khās* hawks, falcons, and trained *cheetahs* were presented to the Emperor.

Shāh Burj.

From the *Dīvān-i-Khās*, the Emperor went to the *Shāh Burj* or 'royal tower' where a strictly secret council was held. With the exception of the princes and three or four other officers none was allowed entry. No officer could stay there beyond the time taken by his business. In the *Shāh Burj* secret decisions were taken, and confidential orders were drafted, and despatched to provincial officers. Also the business relating to *Khālsa* (crown lands), *Talab* (salary) or *Tankhwāh* (pay) which could not be transacted in the *Dīvān-i-Khās* was transacted here. Amīnāī Qazvīnī says that it was here that the Emperor occasionally summoned him to correct his work.[8] About two watches were spent in the *Shāh Burj*.

It was now past midday and the Emperor retired to the *harim*. Here also some work awaited him. After taking his meal he had a siesta, and when he awoke Mumtāz Mahall placed before him a list of deserving cases for charity, brought to her notice by her chief maid Satī Khānum,[9] sister of the poet-laureate of Jahāngīr's court. The Emperor considered every case individually and passed his orders. Suitable dowries were provided for poor and destitute girls, and sometimes their

8 Qazvīnī refers to himself in his account of the transactions in *Shāh Burj*, f. 141.

9 Her brother Tālib was deeply attached to her, and she came from Persia to Agra. Brown, History of Persian Literature (1500—1924), p. 255.

marriages were also arranged. Orphans and widows were given subsistence money. It was rarely that a suppliant turned away disappointed from the palace. Thus large sums were daily distributed in relief work.

The Emperor left the palace at about 3 p.m. He sometimes came to the *Dīvān-i-'Ām* to inspect the palace guards, but usually joined the congregation for his afternoon prayers. After this he spent the evening in transacting administrative work in the *Dīvān-i-Khās*, and then in listening to music or witnessing deer fights. Big chandeliers were now lighted, and their effect on the brocaded curtains and cushions must have been marvellous. We can but dimly imagine the glittering beauty of the *Dīvān-i-Khās* at Dihlī when it was lit up in the evening. Even now, that it is completely divested of its once gorgeous furniture, the lines of Amīr Khusrav inlaid on one side of its walls remind one that it must have been 'a Heaven on earth'.

Public work in the evening.

At 8 p.m. after holding another council for half an hour in the *Shāh Burj*, the Emperor retired to the *harim* where he took his supper, and then listened to songs sung by women. At about 10 p.m. he retired to bed. A screen separated the royal bed chamber from the gaze of good readers who sat on the other side and read aloud books on various subjects, e.g., travel, lives of saints, or history. The autobiography of Bābur was the Emperor's favourite.

Sleep.

This routine was varied only on Fridays, which is the Muslim sabbath, and when no court was held, and on Wednesday when the Emperor repaired directly from the *Jharoka Darshan* to the Hall of Private Audience to hear appeals and administer justice. Here he sat on the *Fīroz Takht* and opened the proceedings in the presence of judicial officers, *muftīs*, and jurists. The *Dārogh-i-'Adālat* presented every case individually, and the Emperor talked to complainants and passed orders in strict accordance with *Shara'* or Muslim law.

Court of Justice.

The Moghul court presented an imposing spectacle of discipline and order.[10] This was possible because strict adherence to etiquette was insisted upon. The order of precedence depended upon the grade or rank of a *mansabdār*. All had to remain standing. Only princes could sit, but not without permission. Jahāngīr had a gold chair for Shāhjahān at his court, and the latter extended the same privilege to his eldest son, Dārā Shikoh. Only the *Vizīr* and *Mīr Bakhshī* were allowed to ascend the stairs and approach the throne; others had to remain at the foot.

Discipline.

Shāhjahān was certainly more orthodox in his religious views than his predecessors. He would not tolerate any practice which outraged religious precepts. The prevalent practice of *Sijda* or prostration, which was introduced by Akbar, was of this type. *Sijda* according to Islamic religious conception is due only to God, and to no living being on earth. Hence the very first order which Shāhjahān issued was for the abolition of this unholy practice. He intended to introduce instead the ordinary form of salutation, but Mahābat Khān flatteringly represented that some distinction was necessary in the case of monarchs and royal personages, because God had placed them higher than others.[11] Accordingly *Zamīnbos* or kissing the ground was substituted for *Sijda*. In *Sijda* a man had to kneel and rub his forehead on the ground, but in *Zamīnbos* he had to take both of his hands to the ground and lift them up to his forehead. But later when it appeared to Shāhjahān that the new method of salutation was hardly distinguishable from the previous one, he abolished *Zamīnbos* also, and substituted '*chār taslīm*'[12]

Method of salutation.

10 Manucci remarks that the silence preserved was astonishing, and the order devoid of confusion. Vol. I, p. 90.

11 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 110—112. Other such orders included the substitution of the Hijrī for the Ilāhī calendar (Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 126—29), and the prohibition of wearing the Emperor's portrait in turban (Md. Sādiq, f. 7).

12 Chār taslīm was a method of salutation in which a man only bowed, touched his forehead, his eyes, and arms.

for it. But scholars and religious divines were excused both from '*Zamīnbos*' and '*chār taslīm*,' as the Emperor held them in special esteem. They observed the ordinary form of salutation prevalent among the Muslims, that of wishing peace to one another.

A loud cry of 'long live the King' greeted the Emperor every time he appeared whether in the *Jharoka* (window) or at court. This was followed by silence, and ordinary business was carried on in whispers. If the Emperor wanted to speak to anybody, he merely signed towards him, and mace-bearers conducted the individual to the foot of the throne, where after making the customary bow, he stood in all humility to listen to the sovereign's pleasure. If the Emperor conferred on him a robe of honour, the recipient bowed again and retired to his place moving backwards,[13] keeping his face all the while towards the throne, because to show one's back to the throne was regarded as the height of disrespect.

Foreign envoys were ushered into the royal presence by nobles in the Hall of Public Audience. Persian envoys were treated with greater esteem and consideration than the messengers of any other Asiatic country. They were allowed to bow in their own style and were loaded with extraordinary favours and rewards. But when relations with Persia were strained, the honour and regard enjoyed by the representatives was transferred to those of Turkey. Envoys from Bokhāra, Samarqand and Kāshghar were treated with great courtesy, but they never enjoyed the same privileges as those of Persia. As to the messengers of European nations, they were held in contempt. With the exception of Sir Thomas Roe, there is not a single instance in the first half of the seventeenth century, when a European envoy was received with due honour. Even Sir Thomas Roe had to fight hard for the maintenance of his dignity. During the reign of Shāhjahān the Dutch and the English were regarded as petty

Foreign envoys.

13 Mandelslo, p. 118.

traders having no political status, so that native chroniclers do not even take notice of them.

The buildings of the *Dīvān-i-'Ām* and the *Dīvān-i-Khās* were in themselves elegant enough, but on gala days their beauty was enhanced by gorgeous and tasteful decorations, and by extensive illuminations. On the occasion of *Nav Rūz*, the accession anniversary, the two *'Īds*, the *Shab-i-Barāt*, and the Solar and Lunar weighings of the Emperor, the court was *en fete*. The *amīrs* appeared in splendid apparel under a spacious canopy of brocade with deep fringes of gold. And the Emperor bedecked with a mass of diamonds, pearls, and other previous stones, sat on his magnificent throne, accepted presents and bestowed rewards.[14]

Gala days.

The greatest marvel of Shāhjahān's court was the famous *Peacock Throne.*[15] Upon his accession he issued orders for its construction, and it was completed in seven years. Its exquisite workmanship has been fully described by Tavernier. Next to it came the celebrated diamond known as '*Koh-i-Nūr*', which was presented to the Emperor by Mīr Jumla.

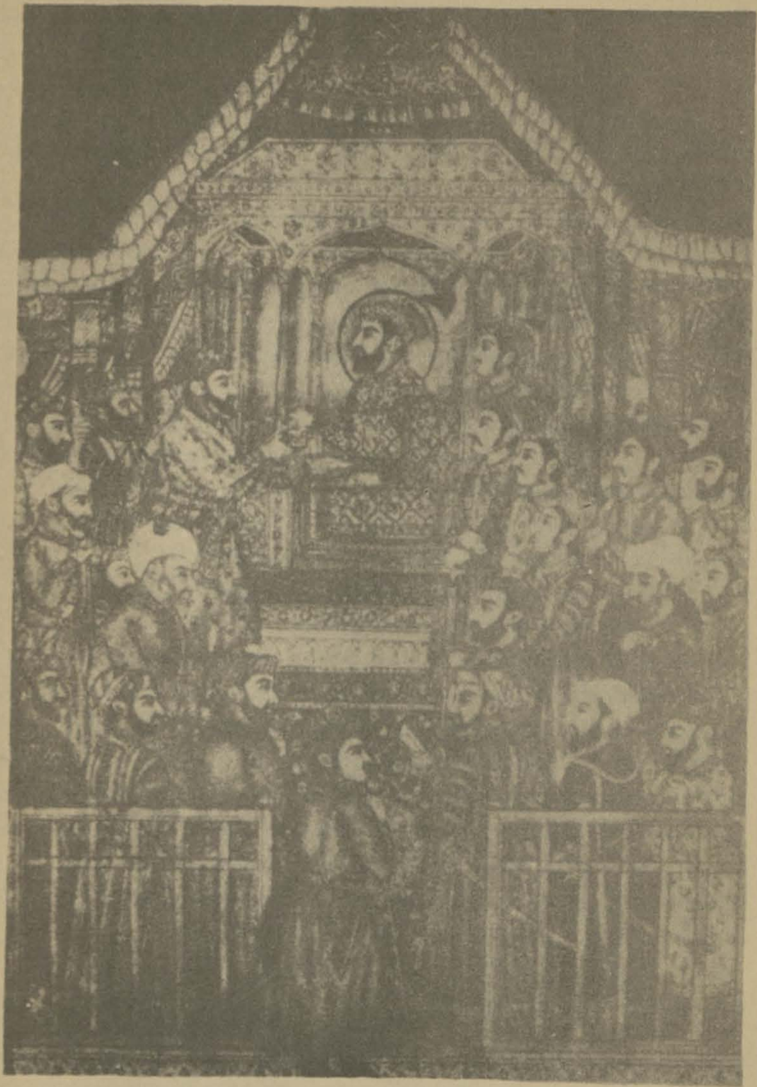
Wonders of the court.

But the court did not primarily exist for the display of magnificence. The show of splendour was only one phase of its life. The other and the more useful side of its activity was the development and dissemination of culture among the people. The prevailing peace in the country together with the personal interest of the sovereign gave a powerful impetus to the growth of art and literature. Poets, philosophers, scholars, artisans, all flocked to court in search of patronage, and talent was but rarely disappointed. The King was never slow to recognise

Significance of the court.

14 Bernier, pp. 268-69; Manucci, Vol. II, pp. 348-49. Manrique, Vol. II, pp. 200—4; Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 379—81.

15 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. 2, pp. 78—81. Bernier says that the Peacocks were made by a skilful Frenchman, p. 269. Description of Seven Thrones by Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 381—87; Manrique, Vol. II, pp. 198-99.



The greatest marvel of Shahjahān's court

To face p. 246

merit and rewarded it generously. His example was followed by his courtiers, who vied with one another in extending their patronage to really capable men.

Moreover, some of the courtiers themselves were men of high literary attainments. 'Alī Mardān Khān, Sa'dullah Khān, Sa'īd Khān, Zafar Khān, Khānazād Khān, Mīr Jumla, Afzal Khān, Rājā Jai Singh, to name only a few, were as distinguished in the field of war as in the realm of letters. They carried with them the traditions of the court and diffused them in the various provinces of the Empire. It is unfortunate that no systematic records of their cultural activities have come down to us ; but still from the stray references in the contemporary political literature we can gather at least some idea of their contributions.

Courtier scholars.

Besides the court there were also some other institutions for the spread of knowledge and culture among the people. There were two government schools as we may call them, one at Agra and the other at Dihlī,[16] in which teachers were directly appointed by the Emperor. But let it be noted here that the State as such did not directly concern itself with the education of the masses. It only endowed mosques which in most cases became centres of learning. This lack of interest on the part of the government though it deserves to be condemned according to our modern conception of its duties, was not an unmixed evil.

Institutions for education.

It provided a scope for individual and private enterprise. A writer remarks that in the reign of Jahāngīr there were schools in every village[17] and town. These schools were certainly not government aided institutions. They must have come into existence through local and

Private efforts.

16 Md. Sādiq in the Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahānī notices the appointment by Shāhjahān of Mīr Shamsuddīn 'Alī Khiljānī as a teacher in one of the schools at Agra (f. 320): again writing about Hāfiz Md. Khiyālī, he says that he was one of the greatest *'Ulemās* of the Dihlī School, (f. 324); see also f. 295, f. 294.

17 Md. Sādiq in his Tabaqāt, f. 296, is confirmed by the account of

private efforts. Moreover, education was then considered quite outside the scope of temporal activities. It was a profession reserved for religious recluses, who imparted it free, or at a nominal charge. Institutions conducted by holy men were to be found at Lahore,[18] Ahmadābād, Burhānpūr, and Jaunpūr. In the reign of Shāhjahān famous scholars also resided in Sirhind, Thāneswar and Ambālā, and attracted students from distant places.

Another important centre of learning in this period was Kashmir.[19] Its salubrious climate, its peaceful atmosphere and its picturesque scenery drew a large number of scholars who settled down there to write their works and to pass their lives in comfort. Mullā Hasan Faroghī and Mullā Muhsin Fanī belonged to Kashmir ; Khvāja Khudāvand Mahmūd settled in that province ; Mullā Shāh visited it very often ; and Kalīm and Qudsī took residence there to versify the Pādshāhnāma.

Kashmir a centre of learning.

The curricula of these educational institutions included a variety of subjects, which were taught by versatile and gifted teachers. There was no specialisation of the modern type. A general smattering of every useful science was what was aimed at.[20] It is true that more attention was devoted to theology and metaphysics, but history, mathematics, prosody, and calligraphy were also favourite subjects of study. There were no examinations, but to have studied under a distinguished professor was regarded as a sufficient qualification.

Subjects taught.

a village school given by Della Valle, pp. 227-28; note Dr. Beni Prasad's remarks in his article on 'Education and Literature among the Moghuls' in the Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, 1923, p. 48.

18 Manucci says that there was a large number of scholars at Lahore, Vol. II, p. 424.

19 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 55.

20 See Ā'īn, pp. 201-02.

The natural result of this universal system of education was the quickening of literary activity.[21] Persian, being the court language, received greater encouragement,[22] and an enormous mass of literature was produced in it. By this time two distinct schools of writers had come into existence, the Indo-Persian school and the purely Persian school. The first outstanding representative of the former school, who standardised the language and style, was Abul Fazl. He set an example of a ponderous and involved style in which sense was very often sacrificed to the requirements of rhythm and diction. In this reign there was a large number of writers who attempted to imitate the ' master '; but with a few exceptions they succeeded only partially. The names of 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhaurī, Md. Wāris, Chandra Bhān and Md. Sālih stand out prominently.

Great literary activity.

Indo-Persian school.

The Indo-Persian literature produced in this period is certainly not purely Persian. It is futile to expect it to be so. The Persian language had come to stay in India, and it could not for long keep itself aloof from its new and powerful environments. It absorbed Indian ideas and Indian thoughts, and it was used for Indian subjects. Necessarily it developed a distinct character. To condemn it as un-Persian without consideration of these factors is to pay a poor tribute to the genius of the Indian people. No language can retain its virgin purity among a strange people unless they be intellectural nonentities ; and there is no reason why Persian should form an exception to this rule.

Its style.

The Indo-Persian style developed because it was excessively patronised at court. Abul Fazl's works instinctively appealed

21 Chandra Bhān in his third Chaman describes the literary activity at Lahore.

22 *Cf.* Della Valle's remark 'Nor let it seem strange that in India, in the countries of the Moghul, the Persian tongue is used more perhaps than the Indian itself,' p. 96.

to Shāhjahān because their language was so ornate. Hence his quest for a man who would be able to chronicle the account of his reign on the same model. And indeed there is an indefinable charm in this Indo-Persian style which excites admiration in the heart of an Indian, but which is positively annoying to a foreigner who cannot appreciate what it stands for. The glories of the reign of Akbar and Shāhjahān could not have been penned in a less grandiose language.

The second school, the purely Persian school, was favoured by officers who were either of Persian origin or who traced their descent from Persian stock. In the early part of the reign Mullā Shukrullah, surnamed Azfal Khān patronised a large number of Persian scholars, among whom Amīnāī Qazvīnī and Jalāluddīn Tabātabāī are the two most important. Their works stand in a striking contrast to those of their Indian compeers, and boldly bring out the difference between the two styles.

Persian school.

A noticeable feature in this reign, and in fact throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, is the influx of a large number of poets from Persia. No Indian poet after Faizī held the post of poet-laureate at the Moghul court. The fact is very significant. It indicates that although the prose style of Indo-Persian had been standardised, in poetry, pure Persian still held its pre-eminence. When Shāhjahān appointed Kalīm as poet-laureate he recognised the fact.

Poets from Persia.

From the question of style let us turn to a discussion of the types of literature produced in this period. After history, next in point of volume comes poetry. As remarked above, the best poets were those who came from Persia. But with one or two exceptions they were of mediocre intellect, and incapable of producing anything new or original. Their works are insipid and show a remarkable lack of breadth of vision and sublimity. They devote more attention to changing the arrangement of words than to putting fresh ideas into their verses ; and in most cases

Poetry.

it is evident that the work is more an outcome of necessity than of inspiration.

Their *ghazals* are in the so-called Sufistic strain and deal with stereotyped and commonplace subjects. Their similes and metaphors are mostly drawn from the traditional stories of '*gul-o-bulbul*' (Rose and Nightingale), '*Shīrīn-o-Farhād*' or '*Lailā-o-Majnūn*.' They rarely rise above a pedestrian level, and give a poor display of the flights of their imagination. But apart from the *ghazal* the main line of development in this period was the *qasīda*, because originality in its composition was paying. The Emperor was very fond of listening to his own praise, and if the eulogy pleased him he had a poet weighed against silver or gold which was given to him in reward.

Style.

There were certain fixed ceremonial occasions when poets were expected to display their ability and genius. At the time of Lunar or Solar birthday celebrations the accession ceremony, or the birth of a son in the Imperial household, they composed chronograms, or *qasīdas* and obtained fitting rewards. Also regular *mushāʿiras* (competitions) were held at court when poets vied with one another to attract the attention of the Emperor.

Ceremonial occasions.

Perhaps the oldest poet of the purely Persian school living at the court of Shāhjahān was Sa'īdāī Gīlānī who ever since the reign of Jahāngīr had held the post of *Dārogha-i-Zargar Khāna* or Head of the Department of Jewellery. He combined in himself the old and the new spirit,[23] and some of his chronograms are exquisite.

Poets.

Abul Tālib Kalīm was the poet-laureate of Shāhjahān's court. He belonged to Kāshān but was brought up in Hamadān. He came to India in the reign of Jahāngīr, and was patronised by Mīr Jumla, also called Rūh-al-Amīn. He entered the Imperial service after the accession of Shāhjahān who in recognition of his merits bestowed on him

Kalīm.

23 Sālih, f. 702 b; Maāsir-ul-Umara, Vol. I, pp. 405—08.

the highest honour. His *dīvān* (collection) consists of *qasīdas* mostly addressed to Shāhjahān, *masnavīs* describing the buildings erected by him, and a 'Sāqīnāma' composed for Zafar Khān, governor of Kashmir. He versified the Pādshāhnāma.[24]

Qudsī.

Hājī Md. Jān surnamed Qudsī possessed an elegant style which was widely appreciated. He soon attracted the attention of Shāhjahān, who entrusted to him the work of versifying the Pādshāhnāma. He wrote a description of the gardens of Kashmir, and a poem on various buildings erected by Shāhjahān, with chronograms ranging from 1630 to 1638. He was regarded as abler than Kalīm.[25]

Kāshī.

Mīr Md. Yahiyā, surnamed Kāshī, traced his origin to Shīrāz. He came to India, and secured the patronage of the Emperor and Dārā Shikoh. He was also entrusted with the work of versifying the Pādshāhnāma, but he soon fell out of favour and his work remained incomplete.[26]

Sāi'b.

But the greatest poet of that period, and the one who is credited with having invented a new style, was Mirzā Md. 'Alī, poetically surnamed Sāi'b. He was for a long time at Kabul, where he enjoyed the patronage of Zafar Khān. He was favourably received by Shāhjahān, who conferred on him the title of Musta'id Khān. He did not, however, stay at court, but accompanied his original patron, Zafar Khān when he was appointed Governor of Kashmir. Later he returned to Fersia, when Shāh 'Abbās II appointed him poet-laureate.[27]

24 Tabaqāt, f. 322; Sālih, f. 698; Rieu, p. 687; Brown (1500—1924), pp. 258-59; Shiblī, Pt. III, pp. 185—208.

25 Tabaqāt, f. 324b; Sālih, ff 696-97; Rieu, p. 684.

26 Rieu, Or. 1852, p. 1001.

27 Rieu, Or. 292; Brown (1500—1924), pp. 265—76.

Salīm was a native of Tehrān, and like many others, left his home to seek patronage in India.[28] He possessed a ready pen and could compose extempore; but his verses were not popular, nor were his merits recognised universally. He was in the service of Islām Khān, and wrote a short *masnavī* on his exploits in Kūch Bihār and Assam.

Salīm.

Hakīm Ruknuddīn, surnamed Masīh, was a native of Kāshān. He was in the service of Shāh 'Abbās I, but feeling offended by him came to India, where he found favour with Jahāngīr as well as Shāhjahān. He returned to Persia and died in 1656.[29]

Masīh.

Hasan Beg wrote under the pen-name of Rafī'. He repaired from Mashhad to Bokhāra where Nazr Md. Khān employed him as writer of *farmāns* and orders. He came to India about 1645, and attracted the notice of Shāhjahān. He was not a professional poet but possessed a rich and flowing style, and whenever he presented his compositions to the Emperor, he received abundant praise.[30]

Rafī'.

Md. Fārūq was the talented son of Khvāja Md. Siddīq. He was very popular among officers and courtiers and wrote delightful verses. First he was patronised by Afzal Khān and then by Sa'īd Khān with whom he stayed in Kabul.[31]

Fārūq.

Among the poets of the Indo-Persian school the first name to be mentioned is that of Maulānā Abul Barkāt, surnamed Munīr.[32] He was also an excellent prose writer and a boon companion of Md. Sālih, the historian. He was in versatility second only to Faizī, and some of his compositions are delightful.

Munīr.

28 Sālih, f. 703; Rieu, p. 738.

29 Sālih, f.695; I.O.L. No. 1572.

30 Sālih, f. 704.

31 Tabaqāt, f. 324b-325.

32 Sālih, f. 710.

Mullā Shaidā was brought up in Fathpur, but migrated to Dihlī. He was endowed with pungent wit, ready intelligence, and some originality. He could compose a *qasīda* within an hour. He ruthlessly criticised Qudsī, and was a sworn enemy of his contemporary Mīr Ilāhī. He was successively patronised by 'Abdur Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān, Shahriyār, and Shāhjahān. He wrote a didactic *masnavī* on the model of Makhzan-i-Ganjūr and named it Daulat-i-Bīdār. In later life he retired to Kashmir, where he died.[33]

Shaidā.

Chandra Bhān surnamed Brahman is the first gifted Hindu poet of the Moghul period. He was a native of Lahore, of tolerant disposition and wide outlook. He could write both prose and poetry with equal elegance. If credit may be given to any author for having completely absorbed and reproduced the style of Abul Fazl, undoubtedly it would go to Chandra Bhān. His work Chār Chaman is an outstanding instance of what ornate and involved prose can be.[34]

Brahman.

Hakīm Hāziq was the nephew of Hakīm Abul Fath Gīlānī. He was born and brought up in India, but was an excellent example of a harmonious combination of the Persian and Indian cultures. His style was a mixture of old traditions with new ideas ; and he recited his composition with depth and feeling. He was a prolific writer but very popular.[35]

Hāziq.

Hāfiz Md. Khiyālī is regarded by the author of Tabaqāt Shāhjahānī as of equal merit with Anwarī. Khiyālī never cringed to the rich, nor did he compose verses to please them. He was also gifted with a knowledge of astronomy, astrology, and mathematics.[36]

Khiyālī.

33 Tabaqāt, f. 322; Salih, 698-99.

34 Chandra Bhān gives an account of his life in the fourth Chaman, B. M. Add 16863; Sālih, f. 707.

35 Tabaqāt, f. 321; Sālih, f. 710.

36 Tabaqāt, f. 323 b.

Dilīrī was a young poet who passed his life in great poverty. He would go without food for days together. He was a great admirer of 'Urfī and tried to imitate the latter's style. He had a weakness for handsome boys, and hated women.[37]

Dilīrī.

Md. 'Alī Māhir was of Persian origin, but was born and brought up in India. He led a wandering life, moving constantly from place to place. Good music and charming beauty were irresistible attractions to him. His style was easy and graceful.[38]

Māhir.

Prose offered a favourite field for the exercise of imagination, and writers spared no pains to make their diction and rhythm as perfect and harmonious as possible. There was an abundant use of the figures of speech, and good authors tried to give a poetical polish to their productions. Two works of this highly developed florid style, each representing a distinct school, are Shash Fath Kāngḍa[39] and Chār Chaman. The one is a specimen of pure Persian and the other of Indian Persian, and in artistic imagery and richness of language the latter excels the former.

Prose.

There is a large number of prose writers who devoted their time to the compilation of historical works. Their style and characteristics have been discussed elsewhere. Another branch of prose which was assiduously cultivated was the art of *belles lettres*. Some compilations of the contemporary private and official correspondence have come down to us, and we can appreciate their elegant and ornate style and fanciful imagery. The letters of Munīr, Brahman, Jai Singh,[40] Afzal Khān,[41] Sa'dullah Khān,[42] Fāzil

Types of prose.

37 Tabaqāt, f. 327 b.

38 Sālih, f. 705 b.

39 Jalāluddīn Tabātabāī was its author. See Beni Prasad, n. 18, p. 317.

40 Many letters of Jai Singh are reproduced in Jāmi'ul Inshā' B. M. Or. 1702.

41 Tabaqāt, f. 317; Sālih, f. 691b-692 and f. 708.

42 Sālih, f. 692 and f. 708.

Khān,[43] Shaykh 'Ināyetullah,[44] Mullā Mahmūd Jaunpuri,[45] Hakīm Hāziq[46] Shaidā and Mullā Tughrāī[47] are still held as models.

Mullā Tughrāī came to India at the close of Jahāngīr's reign, and repaired to the court of Shāhjahān from the Deccan.

Tughrāī.

He was attached as *Munshī* to Prince Murād, whom he accompanied to Balkh. He wrote an account of the campaign called 'Mirā't al Futūh.' His other prose works include 'Firdausiya' in praise of Kashmir, 'Kanz-al-Ma'ānī' in praise of Shāh Shujā', and 'Tāj-al-Madāi'h' in praise of Prince Murād.

A revised edition of Malfūzāt-i-Tīmūrī was at the request of Shāhjahān made by Md. Afzal of Bokhāra in 1640.[48] In the

Other prose works.

same year was composed by Munīr at Jaunpur the story of the exploits and adventures of Prince Wālā Akhtar of Hurmuz. It is in the flowery style of the period.[49]

Four comprehensive dictionaries were compiled and dedicated to Shāhjahān: Farhang-i-Rashīdī and Muntakhab-ul-

Dictionaries.

Lughāt-i-Shāhjahānī by 'Abdur Rashīd al Tatvī; Chahār Ansar Dānish by Amānullah, styled Khāna-zād Khān, and Shāhid-i-Sādiq by Md. Sādiq. The last is an encyclopædia of sciences, particularly of religious, philosophical, political, ethical and cosmographical matters.[50]

43 Sālih, f. 692 b. and f. 708.

44 Ibid., ff. 689b-690 and f. 709.

45 Ibid., f. 710.

46 M. U., Vol. I, pp. 587—90.

47 Rieu, Add 16852.

48 Rieu, pp. 178-79.

49 Ibid.

50 Ibid., Add 5555, Add 55556, Add 5554; I.O.L. No. 2226.

Another type of prose literature which after the reign of Akbar was revived by Dārā Shikoh, was the translation of Sanskrit works into Persian. He himself translated the technical terms of Hindū Pantheism, the Upnishads, Bhagwat Gītā, and Yog Vasisht.[51] His *munshī* Banwālī Dās translated Prabodh Chandra Uday into Persian and named it Gulzār-i-Hāl[52]; and one Ibn Har Karan translated the Rāmāyan.[53]

Translations.

Space forbids even a brief description of the religious works produced in this period. But two writers do deserve mention. Dārā Shikoh wrote a life of Muslim saints, and called it Safīnat-al-Auliā.[54] But the most monumental and original work on comparative religion was Dabistān-al-Mazāhib, written by the celebrated author Muhsin Fānī, who was an excellent poet as well as a prose writer.[55]

Religious works.

Medicine was another favourite subject of study, and some of the physicians of this period were exceedingly talented men who, besides being proficient in their own science, were also gifted with a comprehensive knowledge of other subjects.[56]

Medicine.

Hakīm 'Alīmuddīn Wazīr Khān was the court physician. He was born and brought up in Lahore, and studied medicine under Hakīm Davāī. He was very skilful in diagnosis from the pulse, and was thoroughly acquainted with the temperament of the Emperor Shāhjahān and his sons. He held successively the posts of *Dīvān-i-*

Wazīr Khān.

51 Farquhar: Outline of the Religious Literature of India, p. 287. Rieu, Add 18404, I.O.L. No. 1949 and 1972.

52 I.O.L. No. 1945.

53 I.O.L. No. 1990.

54 Rieu, Or. 224.

55 Ibid., Add 16670.

56 Manucci, Vol. II, pp. 355-56. He gives a list of the names of physicians.

Biyūtāt, Khān Sāmān, and Mīr 'Arz ; and was ultimately made a commander of 5,000 horse, and governor of the Panjāb.[57]

Another physician was Hakīm Dāūd who was a favourite of Shāh 'Abbās I. After the death of his patron he went to Mecca, whence he travelled to India. He was distinguished by Shāhjahān with a *mansab* of 5,000 horse, and the title of Taqarrub Khān.[58]

Hakīm Mominā Shīrāzī came to India in the reign of Jahāngīr, and entered the service of Mahābat Khān. Later he was attached to court, and Shāhjahān made him a commander of 2,000. He was a clever and popular practitioner.[59]

Mominā.

Other names which deserve mention are : Hakīm Fathullah Shīrāzī, an expert in pathology and materia medica ; Hakīm Sadrā, a hereditary physician[60] ; Hakīm Abul Qāsim, and Hakīm Ruknāī Kāshī. The leading surgeons of that time were Jagjīvan[61] and Shaykh Qāsim.

Physicians.

Astronomy and mathematics were also widely studied. Mulla Farīd Munajjim was the greatest astronomer of this period. He prepared an astral chart and named it, after his patron, Zīch-i-Shāhjahānī.[62] 'Atāullah wrote a treatise on Arithmetic, Mensuration and Algebra and dedicated it to Shāhjahān and Dārā.[63] 'Abdur Rashīd translated Bīj Gaṇit from Sanskrit.[64] Other famous mathematicians were Maulānā Mahmūd

Astronomy and Mathematics.

57 Sālih, f. 695 b.; M. U., Vol. III, pp. 933—36.

58 Ibid., f. 695b-696.

59 Ibid., f. 695.

60 M. U., pp. 577—79.

61 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 316.

62 Tabaqāt, f. 320 b; Rieu, Or. 372; I.O.L. No. 2254.

63 Rieu, Add 16744.

64 Ibid., Add 16869.

Jaunpurī,[65] Maulānā Md. Ya'qūb Lāhaurī,[66] and Mīr Shamsuddīn Khiljānī.[67]

Jurisprudence, theology, ethics, philosophy and sociology were favourite subjects of study for saints and holy men. The number of this type of scholars was incalculable. Practically every village or town had a mullā who would pass his time in a mosque absorbed in the study of one of these subjects. Famous scholars of this time were: Abul Makārim,[68] brother of Abul Fazl; Mullā Haider Kashmīrī,[69] Maulānā 'Abd-us-Salām Lāhaurī,[70] and Maulānā Hasan Dihlavī.[71]

Theology.

Scholars.

Those who were especially reputed for their saintliness and piety were Mullā Shāh of Lahore,[72] Sayyid Ahmad Qādirī,[73] Sayyid Jalāl Gujarātī,[74] Shāh Mīr Lāhaurī[75] and Shaykh 'Abdul Haq Dihlavī.[76]

Saints.

The period of Shāhjahān's reign partially coincided with what is described as the most brilliant epoch in the development of Hindī Literature and Language. The Emperor could hardly remain aloof from its influence. He spoke Hindī, was fond of Hindī music, and patronised Hindī poets. The Hindī poets who were then connected with court were Sundar Dās, Chintāmāṇi and Kavīndra Āchārya.

Hindī.

65 Sālih, f. 694.

66 Ibid., f. 694 b.

67 Tabaqāt, f. 320.

68 Ibid., f. 319.

69 Ibid., f. 320.

70 Sālih, f. 693 b.

71 Tabaqāt, f. 318 b.

72 Sālih, f. 686.

73 Tabaqāt, f. 314.

74 Sālih, f. 681b-82.

75 Tabaqāt, f. 313 b; Sālih, ff. 683-84.

76 Ibid., ff. 308—11; Sālih, f. 691 b.

Sundar Dās Brahman[77] was a resident of Gwālior. He was patronised by Shāhjahān, who first gave him the title of Kavi Rāy, and later in recognition of his merits added the prefix of Mahā to it. He was occasionally employed on diplomatic missions, and was sent as a messenger to Jujhār Singh before his rebellion. He wrote 'Sundar Sringār' on the art of Hindī poetry. Other works which are attributed to him are 'Singhāsan Battīsī' and 'Bārahmāsā.'

Sundar Dās.

Chintāmani[78] was a resident of the Cawnpore district, and the eldest of four brothers, all of whom were gifted with poetic genius ; but Chintāmaṇi surpassed the other three. In fact he was the originator of a new line in the art of poetry. He was by common consent the greatest poet of his time. He was patronised by Shāhjahān. He wrote 'Chhand Vichār,' 'Kāvya Vivek,' 'Kavi-Kul-Kalpataru,' and 'Kāvya Prakāsh.' He was essentially a poet of the Brij Bhāshā dialect, and his style is elegant and superb. His Rāmāyan is especially noted for its exquisite 'Kavitta' and 'Chhands.'

Kavīndra Āchārya[79] was a resident of Benares. He wrote 'Kavīndra Kalplatā' in praise of Shāhjahān and his sons. His works display a graceful blending of the Avadhī and Brij Bhāshā dialects. He was also a good Sanskrit poet, and wrote a commentary on "Yog Vasisht."

But while Hindī was flourishing in the North, and the language was attaining perfection, grace and style, its future rival Urdū, which had its origin in the Eastern Panjāb and Western United Provinces, was, strange to say, vigorously developing in the Deccan. It had shifted from the North, and did not return to its original home

Fate of Urdū.

77 Miṣra Bandhu Vinod, Vol. II, pp. 454-55; Hindī Ṣabd Sāgar, Vol. IV, Epilogue, p. 129.

78 Miṣra Bandhu Vinod, Vol. II, pp. 457—59; Hindī Ṣabd Sāgar, Vol. II, Epilogue, p. 133.

79 Miṣra Bandhu Vinod, Vol. II, pp. 453-54.

till late in the 18th century. To give credit to Shāhjahān for its development is erroneous, and lacks historical proof. Shāhjahān did not patronise it, nor do we come across any writer of outstanding merit in that language in Northern India.[80]

Why Urdū did not find favour at the Moghul court is quite evident. The influence of Persian was still dominant, and it continued to receive fresh vigour throughout the reign of Shāhjahān on account of the close contact with Persia. It was in the reign of Aurangzīb that this contact ceased, and thereafter Urdū grew rapidly in the North. On the other hand in the South the influence of Persian had very much declined Both in Bījāpūr and Golconda practically the entire administration had been Hinduised. In these circumstances it would not be too much to suppose that the Deccanī Urdū as distinct from the Northern Urdū, grew from an impact of Persian on Marāthī rather than from a compromise between Persian and Brij Bhāshā.

Why Urdū flourished in the South?

To the popular mind the glories of Shāhjahān's reign are far more vividly depicted in the art than in the literature of that period. The Emperor's entire attention was devoted to the development of architecture; and the buildings constructed in his reign stand as a living monument of unsurpassed engineering skill. They have maintained their charm and freshness in its full vigour, and they sumptuously feast the eyes of visitors from all corners of the world. They breathe sublimity, peace, elegance, and grandeur, and though over-elaboration in some of them appears a little grotesque to an expert, yet the untrained eye is simply enchanted by their all-round beauty. Even if the entire mass of historical literature had perished, and only these buildings had remained to tell the story of Shāhjahān's reign, there is little doubt that

Architecture.

80 See Rām Bābū Saksenā's remarks on the growth of the Urdū in his History of Urdū Literature, p. 12.

it would have still been pronounced as the most magnificent in history.

Experts hold divergent views on the architectural style of this period. Those who hesitate to credit Indian genius with the capacity to produce anything new or original trace in it a powerful extraneous influence.[81] But others hold a contrary opinion and assert that this style is the natural growth and consummation of strictly Indian traditions.[82] It is impossible to pronounce a final judgment on such a delicate question, but it seems clear that the truth lies between the two extremes. The style, it may safely be presumed, was the product of an impact of one culture on the other. It had a steady growth which attained perfection in this period, when it received impetus and patronage.

Style.

The striking difference in style between the buildings of Akbar's reign and those of his grandson at first sight, precludes the possibility of evolution in the eyes of those who do not ponder to find a clue or link between the two. But a little thinking dispels any such notions. If we take the buildings of the two reigns together, we can surely establish a chain, and trace the stages of development. There is yet one other explanation for this sudden change, and it is to be found in the number of buildings constructed during Shāhjahān's reign. Moreover the Emperor himself understood the science of architecture well, and possessed a keen sense of distinguishing the impressive and grandiose from the ugly and grotesque. In fact, he examined every plan and pulled it to pieces with experts[83] before giving his final approval to it. In these circumstances it is no wonder that a superb and strikingly new style should be evolved.

How the style grew.

81 Fergusson: History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, p. 286; V. Smith: History of Fine Arts, p. 172 and p. 180.

82 Havell: Indian Architecture, Chapter VI.

83 There was an official in charge of the building department and his title was *Dārogha-i-'Imārat*. Makramat Khān for a time held this post.

Shāhjahān's taste in architecture dates back to the very early period of his life. Even as a prince we find him altering and renovating the buildings assigned to him for his residence. When he became King, he gave full vent to his cherished ideas. Moreover some traits in his character explain his devotion to architecture. He was vain and ambitious. Vanity always hankers after popular applause ; and it may have struck him that he could secure this for all time by erecting magnificent buildings. Secondly, his ambition always goaded him to achieve the unsurpassable. It was impossible to improve painting, and so naturally he turned to architecture which provided an extensive field for improvement. And the buildings of his reign must have satisfied both his vanity and ambition.

Shāhjahāns tastes.

Every place which Shāhjahān visited during his reign bears a monument of his insatiable architectural interest. It is impossible to give even a list of all such buildings not to speak of a detailed description of them. At Ajmīr the mosque in the mausoleum of Shaykh Mu'īnuddīn Chistī and the Bārah Darī on the Ānnā Sāgar bear eloquent testimony to his taste. Kashmir, Lahore, Ambāla, Bārī, Faizābād, Gwālior, Kabul and many other cities are mentioned by contemporary chroniclers as towns where Shāhjahān erected buildings. But the most representative and the best preserved are those at Agra and Dihlī.

Erection of buildings at every place.

The fort of Agra[84] is a conglomeration of buildings of various types ranging from the time of Akbar to that of Shāhjahān. The latter built there the *Dīvān-i-'Ām* and the *Dīvān-i-Khās*, and the residences for the royal ladies. "Its chambers, corridors and pavilions are of pure white marble, most elaborately carved, and

Agra.

84 Agra Fort described by Sayyid Md. Latīf in his 'Agra Historical and Descriptive,' pp. 74—79.

exquisitely ornamented with flowers."[85] The Saman Burj is another beautiful structure which was once decorated with precious stones. It was here that Shāhjahān breathed his last with his eyes turned towards the Tāj, the resting place of his beloved wife.[86]

The most unpretentious but exquisite building inside the fort is the Motī Masjid[87] or 'Pearl Mosque.' It was built in seven years (1645—1653) at a cost of three hundred thousand rupees. It is an instance of supreme perfection of art combined with simplicity. The material used is white marble without any *pietra dura* elaboration to mar the sublimity of the 'house of God.'

Motī Masjid.

Outside the fort on the north-west stands the Jāmi' Masjid built by Jahān Ārā Begum, the eldest daughter of Shāhjahān. It was completed after five years of work in 1648, and cost five hundred thousand rupees. It is a fine structure of bold design, excellent finish and magnificent proportions.[88]

Jāmi' Masjid.

But the crowning beauty of Agra is the Tāj, perhaps one of the most beautiful buildings in the world. Havell calls it India's Venus de Milo, and remarks that it is a great ideal conception which belongs more to sculpture than to architecture.[89] It is impossible to convey an idea of its extreme delicacy, its architectural grandeur, and of the perfect taste and skill of the men who built it. Its pure white marble, its artistic bulbous domes, its beautifully carved screens, its chaste inlay work, defy description. It is verily a thing of beauty and will remain a joy for ever. Nothing like it was built or has ever been conceived, in the whole history

Tāj.

85 Agra, Historical and Descriptive, p. 82.

86 Ibid., p. 86.

87 Ibid., pp. 90—94; Fergusson, pp. 317-18.

88 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 252; Fergusson, pp. 318—20; Latīf, pp. 184—88; Qazvīnī, f. 406.

89 Havell: Indian Architecture, p. 29.

of Indian architecture. There are buildings more massive, there are others which have more elaborations, but nowhere have grandeur and simplicity been coordinated in such perfect rhythm and symmetry. It soothes the eye, and delights the heart. It is a monument conceived in vanity but marked by tenderness.[90]

Opinions on its style.

Though there is a great unanimity among writers in the estimate of the beauty of the Tāj, their opinions as to its origin and style differ widely. Sleeman in his 'Rambles and Recollections' makes the fantastic suggestion of its having been designed by a French engineer Austin de Bourdeaux,[91] and by a ridiculous stretch of imagination identifies him with Ustād 'Isā. But the suggestion is not confirmed by historical evidence. V. Smith, relying upon the testimony of Manrique, attributes the origin of the design to Germino Vironeo,[92] a view which is rejected by Sir John Marshall and E. B. Havell on grounds of faulty historical evidence, and the internal proof of style provided by the building itself.[93]

Dihlī.

The Dihlī palace[94] is one harmonious structure built at one time and on one uniform plan. In beauty and magnificence it is unique in the East, and perhaps unsurpassed in the world. It stands in marked contrast to Akbar's palace at Fathpur Sīkrī. The one is the model of masculine vigour, the other of feminine over-elaboration. But both have charms of their own. The Dihlī palace is the only one in India which enables us to understand what the arrange-

[90] See Havell: Indian Architecture, Chapter II; Latīf, pp. 100—123; Fergusson, pp. 313—17; V. Smith, pp. 181-82.

[91] Sleeman: Rambles and Recollections, Vol. I, p. 385.

[92] V. Smith: History of Fine Arts, pp. 183—85.

[93] E. B. Havell: Indian Architecture, pp. 33—39; Sir John Marshall: Archæological Survey of India Report (1904-05), pp. 1—3.

[94] Dihlī Palace described by Wāris, f. 16 and ff. 17—23; Fergusson, pp. 309—12; Archæological Survey of India Report (1911-12), pp. 1—27.

ments of a complete palace were when deliberately undertaken, and carried out on the uniform plan.

The principal entrance or Lāhaurī gate on the west faces the Chāndnī Chauk, a noble wide street. This gate is connected with a large vaulted hall which opens inward into a courtyard. Across it is the Naubat Khāna facing the *Dīvān-i-'Ām*, more magnificent than its sister building at Agra. In the northern division of the palace is the celebrated *Dīvān-i-Khās*. Of all the buildings of Shāhjahān's reign it is the most richly ornamented. Technically its style may not be perfect, but it is supremely magnificent. It lacks the simplicity of the Tāj, but it was not conceived in the same spirit. It aims at depicting the grandeur of Shāhjahān at its height, and as such is a complete success. The appropriate lines of Amīr Khusrav[95] express the idea of the building splendidly:

> Verily if there is Heaven on Earth,
> It is here, it is here, it is here.

Outside the Dihlī fort stands on a high pedestal the Jāmi' Masjid, which is conceived and built in a style which stands in direct contrast to that of the Motī Masjid. It breathes the same spirit as the palace which it overlooks. It was meant to be a royal mosque, and it impresses the people as such. It is built of red sandstone, and is thus in complete harmony with the outer walls of the fort. It has two marble minarets.[96]

Painting.

Although Shāhjahān's main interest lay in the development of architecture, he continued the traditions of his father in painting. The school of painting was now supervised by Md. Faqīrullah Khān,[97] who was assisted by Mīr Hāshim, an excellent portrait painter. Besides the Emperor, other prominent patrons of the art of painting, at court were Āsaf Khān and Prince Dārā Shikoh,

95 Wāris, f. 23.

96 Fergusson, pp. 318—20; Wāris, ff. 513b—15. (Add 6556).

97 Percy Brown: Indian Painting under the Moghuls, p. 92.

whose album of 40 miniatures is still extant and gives an idea of the art of that period.

In the technique of the art several changes are noticeable. Firstly, lack of original vigour and spontaneity. Although manual dexterity is apparently retained, but little effort is made to vary the design or conception. In other words, there is more of imitation than of original production. Secondly, a strange desire for fantastic and grotesque is apparent. This was probably in order to conceal the lack of originality. Thirdly, the introduction of a rich border line without which no portrait in this period was considered to be complete. Sometimes these borders have rich floral designs, but at others small figures of birds or animals are introduced. Fourthly, there is a marked tendency to over-elaboration both in detail and in colouring. There is an extravagant use of gold, and thus in their display of brilliance the pictures are an echo of the contemporary architecture.

Calligraphy.

The allied art of calligraphy was also assiduously cultivated. A calligraphist was as much honoured as a painter.[98] Some of the beautiful manuscripts of the period show how technical the art was. For the illumination of manuscripts the skill of a calligraphist was as much in demand as that of a painter.

Md. Murād Shīrīn Qalam was the leading calligraphist. Āqā Rashīdā a pupil of Mīr Imām, was an expert in drawing the circles of letters. Mīr Sālih and Md. Momīn, sons of Mīr 'Abdullah Mushkīn Qalam, were other gifted calligraphists, these were also poets. Sālih composed both in Persian and Hindī, and Momīn only in Persian.[99]

[98] See V. Smith's remarks on Calligraphy. History of Fine Arts, pp. 208-09. Chandra Bhān says that Shāhjahān was a connoisseur of Calligraphy. Chār Chaman, f. 33 b.

[99] Sālih, ff. 533-34 (Add 6557); Chandra Bhān gives the following other names of calligraphists: Yāqūt, Sarfī, Mullā Mīr 'Alī, Sultān 'Alī, Mīr 'Imād, Mulla Darvīsh, Md. Khān, Md. Husain.

The leading *Shikista navīs* were Kifāyet Khān and Jalāluddīn Yūsuf, both pupils of Md. Husain Khalaf.

Music.

Last but not least in Shāhjahān's affections was the art of music. He patronised it generously, and took a keen interest in original production. Actually there was little variation in the style, because there was none gifted enough to improve or depart from the traditional style of Tān Sen, the famous musician of Akbar's court. Dhurpad was the favourite tune of Shāhjahān, and the musician who sang it par excellence was Lāl Khān Gun Samudra, a son-in-law of Tān Sen, and his grand-pupil. The best Hindū musician was Jagannāth who was exceedingly favoured by Shāhjahān.[100] He enjoyed the title of Mahā Kavi Rāy, and very often composed pieces in praise of the Emperor, who rewarded him highly.

It is not possible to give here the list of the various musical instruments of that time, but the names of two players deserve mention. Sukh Sen was a master player on *rubāb* (guitar), and Sur Sen on the *bīn* (zither).[101]

100 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 56; Qazvīnī, ff. 329b—331.

101 Wāris, f. 70. See Della Valle's description of bīn, pp. 117-18.

CHAPTER XI

SOME ASPECTS OF ADMINISTRATION

Position of the Moghul King.

SHĀHJAHĀN'S Empire was based on an elaborate system of government which in its structural details differed little from that perfected by Akbar. The entire administrative machinery derived its momentum from the Emperor who, besides being the highest temporal authority, had also a religious sanction behind his power. He was regarded as the shadow of God on the earth,[1] and as such his commands deserved unquestioning obedience. He was the source of the entire administrative law, and even in religious controversies his decision was held final provided it did not conflict with the Sharī't[2] (Canon law). Thus theoretically his authority was unlimited.

His absolutism circumscribed by customary law.

But in practice this apparent absolution was circumscribed by many considerations. It is true that the Emperor could enforce his will on his subjects with the help of his army ; but this was not possible at all times and on all occasions. The remark of Abul Fazl that his Sovereign kept himself in touch with the spirit of the age[3] is a veiled reference to the limitations of his power. In other words, in spite of his unfettered will the king had to pay due deference to the

[1] Ā'īn, p. 2; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 7. Manucci relates the story of Khān Khānān's (ought to be Khān 'Ālam) mission to Persia where he said to the Shāh that his King was God upon earth. Vol. II, p. 461.

[2] Chār Chaman, f. 27b; Lāhaurī styles the Emperor as pillar of Shara', Vol. I, p. 7; Qazvīnī, f. 188.

[3] Ā'īn, p. 3.

customary law which in medieval ages wielded the same power as the modern written law.

Absence of written law.

The absence of written law in the Moghul period not only appears to us strange, but leads us to imagine that the sovereign must have exercised his will in an arbitrary manner. This conclusion is strengthened by the observations of the contemporary European travellers. But before accepting their views, we should bear in mind two important considerations. First, if the will of the sovereign had always been exercised arbitrarily, the Moghul government could not have lasted so long. The resisting power of the masses was much stronger then than that it is now ; and there was practically little difference between the state army and the common people. Secondly, most of the European travellers are prone to generalise on quite flimsy evidence, and sometimes they supply by imagination what is lacking in fact. And it is not seldom that they contradict[4] themselves in the course of their narrative. Thus their statements should be accepted with great caution.

Moghul Government a 'paper government.'

The Moghul government was essentially a 'paper government.'[5] Every administrative detail was recorded with scrupulous care and minuteness, not at one place but at several places. It will not be too much to suppose that these records which passed through many hands and were fairly accurate, supplied the want of written law. They embodied precedents which, though not codified into general formulae, must have contributed not a little to the solution of many a complicated problem. In a way, this absence of written law was a blessing because it saved litigants from the extortion of venal lawyers.

[4] European travellers not unoften praise the justice of the Moghul sovereigns, and at the same time condemn their government. Instances of such contradictions may be found in the narratives of Bernier, Manrique and Manucci. See Manucci, Vol. I, pp. 197—204 and Vol. II, p. 382; Bernier, p. 227 and p. 236. Manrique, Vol. I, p. 24, and p. 354.

[5] Sarkār (Moghul Administration 1924), p. 11.

and it secured to them swift justice.[6] Moreover, the judge unfettered by hard and fast rules, had an ample opportunity to exercise his discretion and intelligence.

Moghul despotism defined.

To return to the nature of the Moghul despotism, we notice that it was characterised by a fairly deep concern on the part of the sovereign for the welfare of his subjects. Thus it was an advance upon the Khiljī and Tughluq despotisms, in which less regard was paid to the interest of the people, whose apathy was one of the potent causes of the rapid decline of their empires. Moreover, the Moghul sovereigns did not look outside India for the sanction of their power, and possessed little extra-territorial sympathies. This is one of the main reasons why their Empire got so deeply rooted to the Indian soil.

Aim of Moghul government.

Opinions differ as to the aim and character of the Moghul government. Sarkār thinks that the aim was materialistic, almost sordid ;[7] Moreland remarks that its object was the collection of revenue, and the maintenance of adequate contingents ;[8] and Dr. Beni Prasad suggests that the Moghul government was essentially cultural and took cognisance of the common or general will.[9] There is, however, no denying the fact that the Moghul government did secure conditions in which peaceful life was possible, and as such it may be termed an 'enlightened despotism.' It was this essential feature which led Tavernier[10] to remark that Shāhjahān ruled over his people rather as a father over his family than as a king over his subjects.

An error which is made by some modern writers is that of

[6] Bernier, p. 236; Manrique, Vol. I, p. 354 and Vol. II, p. 268; Manucci Vol. I, pp. 197—204.

[7] Sarkār (Moghul administration 1924), p. 5.

[8] Moreland, India at the death of Akbar, p. 31.

[9] Beni Prasad, Jahāngīr, p. 94.

[10] Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 325.

drawing a comparison between the Moghul government, which essentially belonged to the medieval period, and the modern system of administration. They naturally arrive at conclusions far from favourable.[11] But such conclusions are erroneous, since they leave out of consideration a large number of institutions which we take for granted in our civilisation, but which, through no fault of the rulers, were absent in the medieval period. And it should always be remembered that political conceptions regarding the duty and functions of State towards its people have considerably changed since the 17th century.

A common error.

Thus the dimensions of the Empire, the lack of what we call quick means of communication, and the multifarious other problems of government, influenced the theoretical character of the Moghul despotism. The Emperor held the main strings of policy, but the details were carried out by his officers, who were responsible to him. In theory they were his servants, but in practice they were his advisers. Indeed, it lay with the Emperor to ask for advice from his officers, and to accept or reject it. But generally this advice was accepted, unless it affected broad lines of policy; and it is a fact that government officers enjoyed a fair amount of independence in their respective departments.

The Emperor and his councillors.

The administrative machinery of the Moghul government may be discussed under three separate headings: (a) Central, (b) Provincial, (c) Local. Let it be noted at the outset that the first two were more elaborately organised than the third.

The highest officer in the Central government, in fact in the entire State, was the *Vakīl*.[12] He was the practical head of the administration, could employ and dismiss any officer, and was constantly consulted by

Vakīl.

11 For instance, Moreland has come to the conclusion that the India of the seventeenth century must have been an Inferno for the ordinary man. 'Akbar to Aurangzīb,' p. 232.

12 Ā'īn, p. 4.

the Emperor. Shāhjahān appointed Āsaf Khān as his *Vakīl*, and on the recommendation of the Queen entrusted to him the *Muhr Uzak*[13] or the grand seal.

Vakīl's jurisdiction.

The *Vakīl* controlled the Household Department as well as the general administrative departments. The following officers were directly responsible to him :—

Mīr Māl.

The *Mīr Māl*[14] was in charge of the private property of the Emperor, excluding land.

Mīr 'Arz.

The *Mīr 'Arz*[15] introduced various officers or petitioners to the Emperor.

Qor Begī.

The *Qor Begī*[16] was in charge of the royal standards.

Mīr Tuzuk.

The *Mīr Tuzuk*[17] looked to the court ceremonial. Shāhjahān increased the number of *Mīr Tuzuks* to four,[18] because the duties connected with this officer were too many to be discharged by one man.

Mīr Bar.

The *Mīr Bar*[19] was in charge of royal forests.

Mīr Bahr.

The *Mīr Bahr*[20] was in charge of waterways and harbours and looked after the boats for the Imperial use.

Mīr Manzil.

The *Mīr Manzil*[21] made arrangements for the royal encampment.

Khwān Sālār.

The *Khwān Sālār*[22] was the head of the royal kitchen.

13 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 180; Qazvīnī, f 147b.

14 Ā'īn, p. 4.

15 Beni Prasad, p. 96.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

18 This order was issued in December 1643, Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 350.

19, 20, & 21 Beni Prasad, p. 96; Ā'īn, p. 4, and pp. 202-3.

22 Ā'īn, p. 4.

The *Mīr Munshī*[23] was the chief Secretary of the Emperor. He was generally a man of high literary attainments. He drafted the royal correspondence and sometimes wrote to the dictation of the Emperor. Chandra Bhān was the *farmān-navīs* at the close of Shāhjahān's reign.[24]

Mīr Munshī.

Ākhta Begī.

The *Ākhta Begī*[25] was the head of the royal stud.

Khush Begī.

The *Khush Begī*[26] was the chief of the sports department.

Vazīr.

Next to the *Vakīl*, the most powerful officer was the *Dīvān* also called *Vazīr*,[27] or the *Dīvān-i Kul*. He was the permanent head of the finance department. He was responsible for the proper working of all administrative departments and signed every important paper.

Dīvān-i-Tan. and Dīvān-i-Khālsa.

He was assisted by two subordinate Dīvāns, called *Dīvān-i-Tan*,[28] who looked after *Jāgīrs*, and *Dīvān-i-Khālsa*[29] who looked after the royal demesne. The following officers were responsible to the *Vazīr* :

Mustaufī.

The *Mustaufī*[30] or Auditor General looked after the income and expenditure of the Empire. He was empowered to reduce items of expenditure. All papers relating to the Revenue Department were signed by him.

23 Ā'īn, p. 4.

24 Sālih, f. 710 b; Wāris, f. 164.

25 & 26 Ā'īn, p. 4.

27 Ibid; Sarkār (Moghul Adm. 1924) pp. 32—4; Manucci, Vol. II. p. 419; Mandelslo, p. 117.

28 Manucci, Vol. II, p. 419. Sarkār (Moghul Adm, 1924) pp. 46—8; Moreland explains '*tan*' as salary officer. Agrarian System, p. 94.

29 Sarkār (Moghul Adm.), pp. 41—46; Lāhaurī says that the *Dīvān Kul* had two assistants, one *Dīvān-i-Tan* and the other *Dīvān-i-Khālsa*, Vol. I, p. 446.

30 Lāhaurī mentions the names of Mullā 'Abdul Ra'ūf and Mullā 'Abdul Latīf as *Mustaufīs*, Vol. II, p. 610.

The *Sāhib-i-Taujīh*[31] or Paymaster, was responsible only for payments to the servants at the capital. The bills of masons and artisans were first signed by him, and then sent to the *Mustaufī*.

Sāhib-i-Taujīh.

The *Avārja-Navīs*[32] kept the daily record of the income and expenditure.

Avārja Navīs.

The *Mīr Sāmān*[33] was in charge of the State furniture. This was a very responsible post and was given only to trustworthy and able men. Afzal Khān, S'adulla Khān, Fāzil Khān, who later became *Vazīrs*, before their promotion, first held the post of Mīr Sāmān.[34]

Mīr Sāmān.

The *Mushrif*[35] was the head clerk of the Revenue Department, and the *Khazānchī* was the treasurer.

Mushrif.

The Wāqi'ah-Navīs[36] was the recorder of all important orders and events, and supervised the State records.

Wāqi'ah-Navīs.

The Central government included many other officers. Of these the *Sadr-i-Sudūr*[37] or chief ecclesiastical officer was very important. He was the head of the Charity Department and introduced to the Emperor scholars and divines. Mūsvī Khān held the post of *Sadr* for the first 15 years of Shāhjahān's reign. In 1642, he was dismissed on account of his unsatisfactory conduct,[38] and was succeeded by Sayyid Jalāl Gujarātī.[39]

Sadr.

31 Ā'īn (Blochmann) The Accountant of the army, p. vi, n. 14.

32 Ā'īn (Blochmann), p. vi, n. 15.

33 Ā'in (Blochmann), p. vi, n. 16, and Sarkār (Moghul Administration), pp. 48—52; Manucci calls it the third great office, Vol. II, p. 419.

34 Afzal Khān was *Mīr Sāmān* for one year, Sa'dullah Khān for two years, and Fāzil Khān for a number of years.

35 Ā'īn, p. 14.

36 Ā'īn, pp. 192-3.

37 Āīn, p. 198; Sarkār (Moghul Administration), pp. 28-9; Lāhaurī, p 316.

38 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 316.

39 Lāhaurī, pp. 315-16.

But far more important than the Sadr was the *Mīr Bakhshī*[40] who in influence and power ranked second only to the *Dīvān* or *Vakīl*. He was the head of the Military Department and looked after recruitment, reviews, and other similar affairs connected with the army. He was assisted by a subordinate *Bakhshī* called the Second *Bakhshī*.[41] When armies were sent into the field a separate *Bakhshī* was attached to each division[42] and they were probably individually responsible to the Chief or Mīr *Bakhshī*.

Mīr Bakhshī.

The post of *Dārogha-i-Ghusl-Khāna*[43] was given only to responsible and trustworthy men. It required courage, discretion and alertness, because it was the duty of this officer to see that no undesirable or unwanted persons gained access to the Private Hall of Audience, where matters of the highest import and secrecy were discussed.

Dārogha-i-Ghusl-Khāna.

The *Qāzī-ul-Quzāt*[44] or Chief *Qāzī* was the head of the Judicial Department. He heard appeals from the provincial courts and assisted the Emperor in the administration of justice. Md. Aslam[45] held this

Qāzī-ul-Quzāt.

40 Sarkār: Moghul Administration, p. 24; Bernier calls it the second or third position in the State, p. 171; Manucci, Vol. II, p. 419.

41 Sarkār: (Moghul Administration) says that at the end of Aurangzīb's reign there were three subordinate *bakhshīs*, p. 24.

42 e.g. When Mahābat Khān was sent against Jujhār Singh, Islām Khān was appointed *Bakhshī* to his army. Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 241. Again Ishaq Beg Yezdī was appointed *Bakhshī* and *Wāqi'ahnavīs* to a contingent in the Deccan army. Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 136.

43 Sālih remarks that this post was entrusted only to reliable men, f. 620: Manucci remarks that he was styled *Dārogha-i-Khās Chaukī*, Vol. II, p. 422.

44 Sarkār: Moghul Administration, p. 27. Manucci, Vol. II, p. 419, says that he was assisted by two *muftīs*, and could not order for execution without referring the case three times to the Emperor.

45 Lāhaurī mentions this name in connection with the marriage of Dārā, Vol. I, p. 458.

post for a long time. He was succeeded by Qāzī Khushhāl[46] in the 23rd year of Shāhjahān's reign.

Dārogha-i-Kitāb-Khāna.

The *Dārogha-i-Kitāb-Khāna*[47] was the Chief Librarian. Mandelslo mentions the existence of twenty-four thousand richly bound manuscripts in the Imperial Library.[48]

Dārogha-i-Zatgar Khāna.

The *Dārogha-i-Zargar Khāna*[49] was the head of the Department of Jewellery. Sa'īdāī Gīlānī had held 'his post ever since the reign of Jahāngīr.[50] His successors were Mīr Sālih and Md. Sharīf.[51]

Mīr 'Adl and Dārogha -i- Dāgh-o-Tashīh.

The *Mīr 'Adl*[52] of the Camp and the *Dārogha-i-Dāgh-i-Tashīh* were also important officers.[53]

Kotwāl.

The *Kotwāl*[54] is noticed by a large number of European travellers. He was at the capital, and in important towns. Mandelslo says that he was included in the Emperor's Privy Council.[55] His duties were of a varied nature. He was a combination of a modern superintendent of police and magistrate. He kept an eye on bad

46 Sālih, f. 576.

47 The names of 'Abdur Rahmān, Rashīdāī the calligraphist, Mīr Sālih, Mīr Sayyid 'Alī, I'timād Khān, 'Ināyet Khān, 'son of Zafar Khān are mentioned in connection with this post.

48 Mandelslo, p. 118.

49 Ā'īn, p. 13.

50 R. B., Vol. II, p. 195; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 95.

51 Sālih, f. 575 a and b.

52 This post was successively held by Maulānā Md. Fāzil Badakhshī, Sayyid 'Abdul Qādir Mānakpurī; Mīr Barka Bokhārī; and Hājī Ahmad Sa'īd.

53 Three names are mentioned in connection with this post; Dayānat Khān, 'Ināyet Khān and Mīr Ja'fer.

54 Ā'īn, p. 284. Manrique, Vol. I, p. 418 and Vol. II, p. 137 where he remarks that the *Kotwāl* was also the chief Customs officer. Later probably on the authority of De Laet, he says that a *Kotwāl* was appointed in each of the chief cities, Vol. II, p. 270, n. 7 and p. 271; Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar, pp. 37—9.

55 Mandelslo, p. 118.

characters and maintained peace and order in his jurisdiction. Manucci says that he employed *halāl khūrs* or sweepers to obtain secret intelligence.[56]

Provinces.

The entire Empire was divided into 22 *sūbas*[57] or provinces, each under a *Sūbehdār* or *Sipahsālār*. Of these Dihlī and Agra had governors only during the absence of the Emperor ;[58] Qandahār was recovered by the Persians ; Balkh and Badakhshān remained only for a short time in the Imperial possession ; and the four *sūbas* of the Deccan were sometimes held by a single officer.[59] The rest were administered by governors. With the exception of Avadh,[60] we get a connected account of appointments of governors and transfers from one province to another in the Empire. It is only in the 22nd year that I'tiqād Khān is mentioned as having replaced Mirzā Khān as governor of Avadh.

Provincial governors.

Provincial governors[61] were chosen from amongst capable military officers who were also gifted with executive ability. They were expected to be men of character and integrity. Shāhjahān did not tolerate incompetence or abuses in provincial governments, and never hesitated to remove even his favourite officers from their charge if their conduct was found to be unsatisfactory, or complaints against them reached the Court. He dismissed A'zam Khān and Shāyista Khān[62] from the governorship of

56 Manucci, Vol. II, p. 421.

57 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, pp. 710-11.

58 Islām Khān was appointed governor of Agra when Shāhjahān went to the Deccan in November 1629. When Shāhjahān went to Kashmir in 1638, Saif Khān was appointed Governor of Agra. The same procedure was adopted when the capital was transferred to Dihlī.

59 Aurangzīb was appointed governor of all four provinces which included Ahmadnagar, Berār, Khāndesh and Telingāna.

60 Avadh is not frequently mentioned during the reign.

61 Āīn, pp. 280-81 ; Sarkār : Moghul Administration, pp. 80—86.

62 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 290 : Sālih, Vol. III, p. 64. Mira't-i-Sikandarī says that complaint against A'zam Khān's tyranny was made by Sayyid Jalāl, f. 87.

Gujarāt because of their incompetence, and Tarbiyat Khān from the governorship of Kashmir[63] because the people complained of him. On the other hand Zafar Khān was appointed governor of Kashmir because the inhabitants liked him.[64] Another instance of the dismissal of a governor is that of Wazīr Khān who was removed from the Panjāb on the ground of oppression.[65]

The tenure of a provincial governor depended upon the will of the Emperor.[66] It is not possible to determine any uniform principle which governed these transfers; but this much is clear, that an opportunity was given to every aspiring and capable man to enjoy the high-prized post.

Tenure of a governor

The provincial governor exercised threefold functions, civil, judicial and military.[67] As a civilian, he was the executive head of the entire administration, as a judicial authority he heard appeals from the decisions of the *Qāzīs* and *Mīr 'Adls*, and as a military officer commanded the provincial quota, and was responsible for its maintenance and upkeep. He could dismiss subordinate officers with the exception of those directly appointed by the Emperor. He could not execute a death sentence without obtaining sanction from headquarters. He was the guardian of the civil rights of the people, and was expected

Powers of provincial governors.

63 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 282.

64 Ibid., p. 283; Shāhjahān wrote off the arrears of one million rupees due to Zafar Khān, because the inhabitants of Kashmir were satisfied with his administration. Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 420.

65 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 158.

66 Moreland classifies the tenure into two divisions, *Kachchā* and *Pakkā*, India at the Death of Akbar, p. 31; Bernier remarks that the tenure of governors was longer in India than in Turkey, p. 231. Beni Prasad, p. 104; Manrique says that the tenure was short, Vol. I, p. 53.

67 Sarkār: Moghul Administration, pp. 56—61; Ā'īn, pp. 280—83.

to convene meetings of responsible officers under him to discuss administrative problems.

Dīvān.

The *Dīvān*[68] was the chief financial officer in a *sūba*. In theory he was subordinate to the governor, but in practice was equal to him in rank. He was directly appointed by the Emperor, and was expected to keep an eye on the governor. In this reign the provincial *Dīvān* held many posts at once. Md. Wāris[69] records the case of Shaykh Mūsā Gīlānī who in the 21st year was appointed *Dīvān*, *Amīn*, and *Faujdār* of Multan. Such instances may be multiplied.

'Āmil.

The *'Āmil* or Revenue Collector[70] was expected to discharge a host of duties all connected with the improvement of agriculture. He wielded extensive powers both revenue and executive, because in cases where no *Kotwāl* was appointed, he discharged his functions as well.[71]

Bitikchī.

He was assisted by the *Bitikchī*[72] or Record-keeper, and the *Potadār*[73] or treasurer.

Potadār.

There was also a provincial *Wāqi'ah-Navīs*[74] who submitted his reports to Court through the *Dīvān*; and in Shāhjahān's reign we also come across references to the post of provincial *Bakhshī*. In such cases, the two posts were combined.[75]

68 Sarkār: Moghul Administration, pp. 62-3; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 12.

69 Wāris, f. 7.

70 Ā'īn, pp. 285—88.

71 Ibid., p. 288.

72 Ibid., p. 288.

73 Ibid., p. 289.

74 Sarkār: Moghul Administration, pp. 71—5; Manucci says that the reports of these officers were read out to the Emperor at night, Vol. II, pp. 331-32.

75 E.g., in 1645 Qāzī Tāhir Āsaf Khānī was appointed to such a combined post. Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 475.

Next to the province, the *Sarkār* was the unit of administration.[76] It was a group of a number of *parganas*, and was administered by a *Faujdār*.[77] On his accession day Shāhjahān made several appointments to *Sarkārs*, and the expression '*Faujdārī-i-Sarkār*' is of frequent occurrence in the contemporary chronicles.[78]

Sarkār.

How the *pargana* and village were administered in this reign is not quite clear. Probably the *Qānūngo* was a *pargana* officer, and the *Patwārī* a village officer.

It is not difficult to form from the foregoing account an idea of the judicial administration. The Emperor was the head of the judiciary. He heard original cases as well as appeals from the provincial courts. At headquarters the *Qāzī-ul-Quzāt* was his chief legal adviser, in the provinces the *Qāzī* and *Mīr 'Adl*.[79] In this reign the two posts were ordinarily combined.

Judicial administration.

The excellent spy system of the Moghuls has been praised by many European travellers.[80] At the capital the head of the intelligence department was the *Wāqi'ah-Navīs* who was represented by subordinate *Wāqi'ah-Navīses* in the provinces, and by *Kotwāls* in towns.

Spy system.

The capital of the Empire was connected with the provinces by means of a number of roads.[81] One ran eastward to Bengal and westward to Peshawar. Another passed through Rājpūtāna to Ahmadābād, and thence to the Deccan. A third ran across Mālwa to Burhānpūr. These

Roads.

76 Moreland: Agrarian System, p. 277. Manucci says that sarkār means a division, Vol. II, p. 413.

77 Ā'īn, p. 283; Manucci, Vol. II, pp. 450-51; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, pp. 73-4.

78 Qazvīnī, f. 132.

79 Ā'īn, p. 283.

80 Manrique, (Vol. II, p. 249) describes how he was detected by a spy of *Kotwāl* in spite of his efforts to hide his identity; Manucci, Vol. II, pp. 420-21.

81 See Tavernier, Vol. I, Chapters IV to VIII.

roads were lined on either side with shady trees and at fixed stages had comfortable caravan sarāis which in the words of Manrique " offer refuge and shelter for travellers in sickness or fatigue or from rain." They were erected at the expense of neighbouring villages or at the cost of princes or rich and powerful men who 'wished to keep their memory green.'[82]

The government took proper steps to keep these roads safe for travellers and merchants.[83] It was the duty of the *Faujdār* to guard against daylight robbery. Other local officials were also expected to assist in the maintenance of security on the roads. Nevertheless cases of blackmail or robbery were of frequent occurrence. But when local officials failed to trace the criminals they were compelled to make good the losses incurred in their jurisdiction or were dismissed.[84]

Safety of Roads.

Various forms of what we now call barbarous punishment existed at this time. The spirit of the criminal law was not reformatory or humanitarian but retributive. Moreover little regard was paid to the proportion of punishment to crime. Mutilation of limbs, the pillory, flogging, and (if Manucci is to be trusted) biting by scorpions and snakes were common methods of punishment.[85]

Forms of punishment.

[82] Manrique praises Indian caravan sarāis, Vol. II, pp. 97—99. Manucci, Vol. II, p. 68 and p. 116. Bernier condemns them, p. 233.

[83] Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 292 and p. 325; Mandelslo says that the governor of Ahmadābād had to look to the safety of roads, p. 114; Manrique also refers in general terms to the security of the roads; Manucci, pp. 450-51.

[84] Ā'īn, p. 284; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 47; Manucci, Vol. II, p. 204.

[85] Manrique remarks that punishment was graded to offence, Vol. II, p. 269; Manucci, Vol. I, pp. 197—204; Peter Mundy says that thieves were roasted alive, Vol. II, p. 47, p. 232, p. 233, p. 234 and p. 254.

The forts of Gwālior, Ranthambhor, and probably Rohtās served as State prisons for political offenders ; but for common felons there were local prisons known as *Bandīkhāna*. Manrique gives an account of one of them and says that no bedsteads were allowed to prisoners, but they were allowed to have private medical attendance.[86]

Prisons.

To convey news from the provinces to Court relays of fast messengers were stationed at convenient stages, and the organisation was known as *Dāk Chaukī*.[87]

Dāk Chaukī.

The distinctive feature of the Moghul administration was its military character. It was so, first, because of the nature of the population,[88] and secondly because of the absence of the idea of administrative specialisation. The mass of the people in medieval ages were more warlike and had a greater aversion to obedience and submission than now. Evidence of the existence of this spirit of defiance is to be found in the numerous expeditions undertaken to suppress local trouble in regions as near to the capital as the Doāb. Moreover troops were also stationed at important centres in a province to assist the *'Āmil* in revenue collection.

Why the character of the Moghul government was military?

The art of government was still in its infancy, and there was no conception of one set of officers specialising only in a particular branch of administration. On the contrary, every officer was considered as competent to discharge the military as the civil duties.[89] And as the government service was essentially a military one,

No specialisation.

86 Manrique, Vol. I, p. 423.

87 *Mewras* were postmen. Ā'īn, p. 188; Khāfī Khān, Vol. I, p. 243. Manucci says that pigeons were used as messengers, Vol. II, p. 467; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 292; Pelsaert, p. 58.

88 Bernier, p. 209.

89 Moreland remarks that in this period it is correct to speak of service, and not of services because at this time there was no differentiation in regard to functions. Once appointed, an officer's time was entirely at

the entire administration assumed a military character. In this reign even the *Sadr* was a military officer, and drew his pay according to his military rank.[90]

The entire military organisation of the State depended on what is known as the '*mansabdārī system*.' Irvine explaining the term '*mansab*,' remarks that 'its object was to settle precedence and fix the gradation of pay; it did not necessarily imply the exercise of any particular office, and meant nothing beyond the fact that the holder was in the employment of the State, and bound to yield in return certain service when called upon."[91] This was the conception underlying the system. In theory it seems simple enough, but in actual practice it was full of complications which have not, so far, been completely explained.

Mansabdārī system.

Akbar introduced the *Mansabdārī* system to prevent fraud and embezzlement by his military officers, and to secure the stability of the military organisation. During his reign the strict observance of the *Dāgh-o-Tashīh* (branding) regulation[92] ensured a conformity between the rank of a *mansabdār* and the actual quota of troops maintained by him. But under his successors the institution of some new military distinctions created a wide breach between theory and practice.

Aim of the system.

Of these the first was the *Suwār* rank. It really came into existence in the latter years of Akbar's reign, and was given to officers in a niggardly spirit,[93] but it became very common under his successors. Its purpose was to confer an additional distinction on an officer

Suwār rank.

the Emperor's disposal, he might be either employed on military duties or in civil administration. Agrarian System, p. 93.

90 E.g. Sayyid Jalāl was a commander of 6000 *zāt* and 2000 *suwār*; Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 718.

91 Irvine: The Army of the Indian Moghuls, p. 4. See Peter Mundy's definition of *Mansabdār*, Vol. II, p. 124.

92 Ā'īn, pp. 144-5.

93 Irvine, p. 4.

without increasing the number of troops under him. When an officer obtained this distinction his original rank was known as the *zāt* and the additional as the *suwār*.

There is a great divergence of opinion on the significance of the terms *zāt* and *suwār*. Blochmann holds that the *zāt* indicated the number of soldiers a *mansabdār* was expected to keep, and the *suwār* the actual number maintained by him, and that he drew his salary for the former.[94] But this view is inadmissible for two reasons. First it defeats the very object of the institution of the *suwār* rank; and secondly, there were certain officers who held *zāt* rank only; and if we accept Blochmann's view they would have to maintain more men than those who held both the *zāt* and the *suwār* rank, and thus lower their status.

Significance of the *zāt* and *suwār*: Blochmann.

Irvine thinks that the grant of the *suwār* rank was an additional honour, and indicated the actual number of horsemen over and above those of the *zāt*.[95] This view is untenable for three reasons. First, if we accept it the total number of the Moghul troops would mount to an incredible figure; secondly, if the honoured officer was expected to maintain an extra number, the honour would be more a source of burden to him than real distinction; and thirdly, in some cases the total number of horsemen maintained by a *mansabdār* would be greater than that of a prince, which is incredible.

Irvine.

Dr. R. P. Tripāthī discusses this question thoroughly, and comes to the conclusion that the *suwār* rank was an honour for which an officer was paid an extra allowance without maintaining the number of horsemen indicated by it.[96] In other words the *suwār* rank had nothing to do with the actual number, which was regulated by the *zāt*

Dr. Tripāthī.

94 See Blochmann, pp. 238—47.

95 Irvine, p. 9.

96 Indian Historical Records Commission, Vol. V, 1923, pp. 60—2

only. What amount of allowance per head was paid to an officer for his *suwār* rank is still a disputed question.

Do Aspa Sih Aspa.

A further distinction, over and above the *suwār* rank, came into existence in the reign of Jahāngīr. It was to make some proportion of the quota, or the entire quota of a *mansabdār*, *Do Aspa Sih Aspa*. It is distinctly mentioned in the Pādshāhnāmah[97] that a *Do Aspa Sih Aspa* officer had to maintain twice the number of horsemen maintained by a similar officer of the *suwār* rank only. Thus a commander of 5000 *zāt* and 5000 *suwār* was expected to maintain 300 *Sih Aspa* troopers, 600 *Do Aspa* troopers, and one hundred *Ek Aspa* troopers. But if his rank was increased to 5000 *zāt* and 5000 *suwār* all *Do Aspa Sih Aspa*, he was expected to maintain 600 *Sih Aspa*, 1200 *Do Aspa*, and 200 *Ek Aspa*. It should, however, be borne in mind that there were very few cases in which the entire quota was made *Do Aspa Sih Aspa*.

These distinctions created great divergence.

These distinctions as noted above, brought about a great divergence between the actual and nominal number of troops maintained by a *mansabdār*. To regularise this state of affairs, Shāhjahān issued a set of orders in the 20th year of his reign.[98] According to the new regulations a *mansabdār* who held a *jāgīr* within India had to maintain only a third of the quota indicated by his rank, e.g., an officer of 3000 *zāt* and 3000 *suwār* had to bring only 1000 troops to the *Dāgh*. But if he was appointed to a province outside India he had to maintain only one-fourth of his nominal quota. A further reduction was made during the Balkh campaign when the proportion was fixed at one-fifth

Shāhjahān's regulation.

In the last decade of Shāhjahān's reign, the highest *mansab*

97 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, pp. 505—8.

98 Ibid; Manucci remarks that a *Hazārī* in the first class had to maintain 250 horses, Vol. II, p. 375.

was held by Prince Dārā who was a commander of 40,000 *zāt* and 20,000 *suwār* all *Do Aspa Sih Aspa.*

Ranks.

Outside the royal family the highest rank attained by any officer was 7000 *zāt* and 7000 *suwār*. The case of Āsaf Khān, who held the rank of 9000 *zāt* and 9000 *suwār*, was an exception. He was the father-in-law of the Emperor, and had played a prominent part in securing the throne for him. At the end of the 30th year, there were only three officers of the rank of 7000 *zāt* and 7000 *suwār*; 'Alī Mardān Khān, Sa'id Khān, and Islām Khān.[99]

Classification of ranks.

On the basis of the *zāt* and *suwār* rank the *mansabdārs* (except officers above 5000, who were exempted from this classification)[100] were further classified into three classes. Below 5000 if the *zāt* and *suwār* ranks were equal, an officer belonged to the first class; if the *suwār* rank was half or more than half, he belonged to the second class; but if the *suwār* rank was less than half, he belonged to the third.[101]

Gradation of ranks.

From 3000 *zāt* to 7000 *zāt* the grade of ranks varied, by 1000. There was only one officer who held the rank of 3500. From one thousand to two thousand five hundred, the scale varied by 500, and below one thousand to 500 it varied by 100. It appears that 500 was the lowest distinction. It was very widespread and in this reign the largest number of *mansabdārs* held this rank.[102]

Salaries.

There were very few *mansabdārs* who were paid for all the twelve months in a year. In the latter part of Shāhjahān's reign 10 months was the limit.[103] It is however, interesting to note that when 'Alī

99 See the list of *Mansabdārs* given by Wāris.

100 Dustūr ul 'Amal, B.M. Or 1937; Irvine, p. 6.

101 Dustūr ul 'Amal, ibid.

102 See the list of *Mansabdārs* in Wāris. B.M. Or. 1937.

103 Dustūr ul 'Amal B.M. Or. 1690, f. 102 b. Bernier says that army was paid every two months.

Mardān Khān was appointed *Mansabdār* of the rank of 7000 *zāt* and 7000 *suwār*, of which 5000 were *Do Aspa Sih Aspa*, his salary was fixed at 3 millions of rupees per annum, the year reckoned at 12 months.[104] Sometimes as a mark of favour an additional allowance, over and above the salary warranted by the rank, was given to an officer, e.g., both Āsaf Khān and 'Alī Mardān Khān were given this extra allowance.[105]

Distinctions.

Besides the *zāt* and *suwār* ranks there were other distinctions also which were conferred on deserving officers. The *tūman-o-tūgh*, which was ordinarily reserved for the princes, could also be conferred on a mansabdār of not less than 7000 *Zāt Suwār*.[106] Standard and drums were also meant for higher officers[107]; and the *Māhī Marātib* was given only to the Deccanī officers.[108]

Reviews.

Mansabdārs had to bring their contingents for review at stated intervals.[109] Those who held a *jāgīr* brought them once a year and were allowed six months as a period of grace. But the *Naqdī* or those who received their salary in cash, brought their contingents every six months, and were allowed only two months as a period of grace.

Mansabdārs on service and at court.

The *Mansabdārs* were not a stationary force, and were not expected to remain over in attendance at the Court. As noted above, they were employed to perform civil duties as well. Those of higher grades were posted as *Subehdārs* of provinces, or Wardens of Marches on the North-Western Frontier. And when they were away from Court on duty, they were known as

104 Wāris, f. 62b.

105 Wāris, f. 62b and Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 115.

106 Dustūr ul 'Amal, B.M. Or. 1937.

107 Ibid; and Chapter III of Irvine: Army of the Indian Moghuls.

108 Ibid.

109 Ibid. B.M. Or. 1937. and Irvine, p. 54; Manucci says that the *Bakhshī* held a review twice a year, Vol. II, p. 377.

Ta'īnāt.[110] But those who remained at the capital were known as *Hāzir Rakāb.*[111] They had to mount guard and perform other duties which the Emperor ordered.

The *Mansabdārī* system was essentially based on an indirect method of recruitment. The Emperor fixed the rank of an officer and it was his duty to recruit men conformably to his rank. But soldiers were also directly recruited to the State army. Such recruits were known as *Ahadīs*[112] or gentlemen troopers, and were grouped under the general designation of 'Household Cavalry.' They received a better salary than ordinary soldiers.

Ahadīs.

Another branch of the army which may be styled as 'irregulars,'[113] consisted of the troops raised by tributary chiefs of Rājpūtāna, and other *Zamīndārs.* But those who entered the regular *mansab* had to maintain besides their racial levees, the number of troopers required by their rank.

Irregulars.

Branches of service.

This huge military organisation consisted of four branches of service, Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery and Navy.

The Infantry as a fighting arm had lost its significance.[114] It was now a composite body consisting of some combatants, and a large number of non-combatants or camp followers. The latter included the *Khidmatiyas,* the *Darbāns,* or porters, the *Kahārs* or *Pālkī* bearers, the *Pahalwāns* or wrestlers, and the *Mewras* or spies.

Infantry.

110 Irvine, p. 9; Bernier, p. 211.

111 Ibid.

112 Ibid, p. 43; and Ā'īn, p. 187.

113 V. Smith's Akbar, p. 360: Bernier, pp. 209-10.

114 Irvine, quoting Dr. Horn, says that the Moghul army consisted of cavalry, infantry and artillery, but the second and third branches held a very subordinate position towards the first, p. 57; cf. Bernier's remark on camp followers, p. 43.

The combatants included *Shamshīrbāz* or gladiators and *Barqandāz* or musketeers.[115]

But the most important branch of service was the Cavalry, which was the main prop of the *Mansabdārī* system. Great care was taken that the troopers should maintain the right type and full quota of horses.[116] On an average every soldier had to maintain two horses, one for actual service, and the other as reserve. Thus the cavalry, on the whole, was efficient and well organised, and Bernier pays a deserving tribute to it.[117]

Cavalry.

The artillery in the reign of Shāhjahān was manned mainly by Europeans,[118] the Dutch, the English, the Portuguese and the French. It was of two kinds, heavy artillery and light artillery. The latter according to Bernier was extremely well appointed.[119] But the heavy artillery was ineffective, and was inferior to the contemporary Persian artillery.

Artillery.

There was no navy worth the name,[120] but the flotilla of boats for transport purposes was called *Navārah*. On two occasions, however, this *Navārah* was used as a fighting arm, once against the Portuguese of Huglī,[121] and again during the war in Assam.[122]

Navy.

Next to the military organisation, but equally important, was

115 Ā'īn, pp. 188—90; Mandelslo says that the infantry manage the musket tolerably well, p. 118; Bernier says that musketeers cut a sorry figure, p. 217.

116 Manrique says that the horses were mostly 'Arab, Persian and Turkish, Vol. II, p. 277; Manucci says that every horseman in the King's service must have a Turkish horse, Vol. II, p. 376.

117 Bernier, pp. 48-9.

118 Ibid., p. 217; Mandelslo notices that the Moghuls have a great train of artillery but essentially inferior, p. 118; Manucci, Vol. I, p. 95.

119 Bernier, p. 218.

120 Manrique attributes the want of efficient navy to the timidity of Moghuls, Vol. II, p. 278; Vol. II, p. 168.

121 See the account of the reduction of Huglī.

122 See the account of the Assam Campaign.

the administration of Revenue. From the stray remarks in the contemporary chronicles, it is apparent that Shāhjahān was solicitous for the welfare of agriculturists.[123] To relieve the peasants from the exactions of revenue collectors he abolished some illegal cesses in Kashmir;[124] and his reign is marked by the construction of several canals for irrigation.[125]

Revenue administration.

But the general system of revenue administration obtaining in this reign differs materially from that instituted and perfected by Akbar. The *zabtī* or regulation system[126] of the latter aimed at the abolition of the *Jāgīr* system, and the establishment of direct relations with the cultivator. Its chief features were measurement and calculation. All payments were made in cash, and the State demand was fixed at one-third of the gross produce. It should be noted, however, that the '*zabtī*' system prevailed only in the well established provinces of the Empire.[127] Bengal, Sindh, Kabul, Khāndesh and Kashmir were beyond the scope of its operation. There the revenue was collected either according to the '*Ghalla Bakhsh*'[128] or crop-division system, or the Nasq[129] i.e., the group assessment system. In the former direct relations with the cultivator were possible, but not so in the latter.

Zabtī system.

In the reign of Shāhjahān the revival of the *jāgīr* system cut at the very root of the '*zabtī*' system. About seven-tenths of the Empire was farmed out,[130] and the extent of Khālsa lands (lands under direct administration) diminished considerably. Group

Changes under Shāhjahān.

123 See Shāhjahān's orders for compensation to agriculturists during his journey to Kashmir. Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 2, pp. 4-5.

124 Qazvīnī, f. 267b.

125 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 168.

126 For an account of the '*Zabtī* system' see Moreland's article in the Journal of Royal Asiatic Society 1918.

127 Ibid.

128 Ibid.

129 Moreland: Agrarian System, pp. 234—37.

130 Morel--'. Agrarian System, p. 125.

assessment became the rule rather than the exception,[131] and the State demand increased from one-third to about one-half. The burden of the peasant increased further, because he had to pay not only for the land under actual cultivation, but also for the land in his occupation.[132] In this way land revenue increased to 400 millions of rupees.[133]

In this reign there occurred one severe famine in the Deccan, and some scarcity of food in the Panjāb, and Kashmir. The famine of 1630-31 had widespread repercussions It affected Golconda, Ahmadnagar, Gujarāt and some parts of Mālwa. Contemporary chronicles give heart-rending accounts of the heavy mortality and of the intense suffering among the Deccan people. "Life was offered for a loaf but none would buy ; rank was sold for a cake, but none cared for it . . . . For a long time dog's flesh was sold for goat's flesh, and the pounded bones of the dead were mixed with flour and sold. Men began to devour each other, and the flesh of a son was preferred to his love. The Emperor established soup-kitchens and alms-houses for the benefit of the poor and destitute. Every Monday 5,000 rupees were distributed among the poor of Burhānpūr, and remissions on a large scale were made in Ahmadābād."[134]

Famines in the Deccan.

In 1641, heavy rainfall caused serious damage to the *kharīf* crops in Kashmir, and consequently there occurred a great scarcity of food. About 50,000 people left the country, and migrated to Lahore where the Court was staying at that time. They appeared in a body before the *Jharoka* window to represent their misery to the Emperor. Shāhjahān ordered that one hundred thousand rupees should be distributed among them, and cooked food worth 200 rupees should be daily provided to them. He sent 30,000 rupees to

Kashmir.

131 & 132 Moreland: Agrarian System, p. 124.

133 Ibid., p. 126.

134 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 362—64; Mira't-i-Sikandarī, f. 83b; Mandelslo, p. 120.

Tarbiyat Khān to be spent in famine relief work in Kashmir, and ordered him to establish five kitchens to distribute soup and bread. But Tarbiyat Khān failed to manage the situation and he was replaced by Zafar Khān. The Emperor gave the latter another 20,000 rupees for relief work in Kashmir.[135]

In 1646, scanty rainfall caused a famine in the Panjāb. By order of the Emperor ten kitchens for the distribution of cooked food were established in the province, and Sayyid Jalāl was commissioned to distribute Rs. 10,000 among the poor and destitute. Sold children were ransomed by the government, and restored to their parents. In February 1647 Shāhjahān sanctioned another thirty thousand rupees for relief measures in the Panjāb.[136]

The Panjāb.

From this general survey of the administrative machinery of Shāhjahān's government, let us turn to the spirit underlying it. The first noticeable point is a change in government's religious attitude. The pendulum had now definitely swung to the other side: and historians bestow lavish praise on Shāhjahān for the revival of Islāmic traditions. The abolition of *Sijda* and prohibition of the wearing of the Emperor's portrait in the turban are cited as instances of his religious outlook. But more important than this was his attitude towards the non-Muslims, including the Hindūs and the Christians.

Spirit of the administration.

The practice of desecrating and destroying Hindū temples, though it was revived in the reign of Jahāngīr,[137] became systematic under Shāhjahān. He first ordered, in January 1633, the demolition of the newly built temples in his whole Empire, especially at Benares;[138] and this order was (in September-October) followed

Desecration of temples.

135 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, pp. 282-83.

136 Ibid., p. 289 and p. 632; Md. Sādiq, f. 116.

137 Desecration of the temple of Bārāh at Ajmīr, R.B. Vol. I, p. 254 and of Kāngḍa after its reduction, Vol. II, p. 223. See Qazvīnī's remarks, f. 60; Shash Fath Kāngḍa, f. 25.

138 This order was issued in January 16[illegible]. Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 452. Seventy-two temples were demolished in Be[illegible]es.

by a total prohibition for the erecting of new temples or the repairing of the old ones.[139] The Hindūs were forbidden to dress in the Muslim style, to sell or drink wine openly or privately, to cremate their dead or burn the *satīs* near Muslim grave-yards ; and to purchase Muslim slaves of war.[140]

Abolition of heretical practices

In some parts of the Empire, especially in the Panjāb, Kashmir and Gujarāt (Panjāb), the Hindūs and Musalmāns mixed together freely and even intermarried. For instance, in Bhimbhar the custom was that if a Hindū gave his daughter in marriage to a Musalmān, when she died she was buried ; but if a Musalmān gave his daughter to a Hindū, when she died she was burnt. In 1634, Shāhjahān forbade this practice, and ordered the recovery of Muslim girls from the Hindūs. But if a Hindū turned Musalmān he was allowed to keep the girl, provided he solemnized the marriage again in the Muslim style.[141]

Conversions.

Further, systematic efforts were made at the instance of the Emperor to convert the Hindūs both by persuasion and by force.[142] The former included tempting offers of service and rewards. Shāh Mīr Lāhaurī and Muhibb 'Alī Sindhī were especially commissioned with this

139 Qazvīnī, f. 302; Bernier refers to demolition of temples in Kashmir, p. 400.

140 Qazvīnī, f. 302.

141 Ibid., ff. 331-12, f. 411. Jokhū, the Zamīndār of Bhimbhar and his tribesmen turned Musalmān; 400 Hindūs were converted in the Panjāb.

142 The important instances of forcible conversions are: (1) Jujhār Singh's two sons Durgbhān and Durjan Sāl were renamed Islām Qulī and Alī Qulī respectively. Qazvīnī, f. 362b. (2) The Portuguese captives, Qazvīnī, f. 299b. Dalpat of Sirhind was asked to turn a Musalmān if he wanted to retain his Muslim girls, but he refused. He was tortured to death, and his dead body was dismembered. Qazvīnī, f. 411. Tavernier, p. 391, Vol. I.

work of proselytisation.[143] They presented new converts to the Emperor, who conferred on them titles and distinctions, or assigned special allowances to them. The Hindūs were strictly forbidden to influence or dissuade their relations from turning Musalmān.[144] Two cases of conversion among the nobility are worth notice. Rājā Bakhtāwar Singh, son of Rāj Singh Kachwāha, obtained on his conversion a robe of honour and two thousand rupees ; and his son Purushottam Singh on changing his religion was given the title of 'Sa'ādatmand.'[145]

There are two instances on record in which government officials were transferred or dismissed on account of their religious convictions. Lashkar Khān was transferred from Kabul, because his loose religious principles were intolerable to the people there ;[146] and according to Jalāluddīn Tabātabāī, Rāy Māīdās was removed from the *Daftardārī* of the *Tan*, because he was a Hindū. He was replaced by Mullā 'Abdul Latīf Gujarātī.[147]

But this policy of religious intolerance was practicable only in the provinces nearer to the capital. It could not be enforced with equal rigour in all parts of the Empire, and at some places a compromise was made with the Hindūs. Della Valle notices the prohibition of the slaughter of cows in Cambay, but adds that the 'gentiles' paid a heavy sum for this concession.[148] Manrique also refers to strict injunctions against the slaying of animals in Hindū districts.[149] While he was travelling in Orissa one of his followers killed a peacock, and it was with great difficulty that he could get the punishment reduced from amputation of

Limits of the policy.

143 Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahānī, f. 317.

144 Qazvīnī, f. 302.

145 Ibid., f. 303b.

146 Ibid., f. 238.

147 Tabātabāī, f. 19; but Lāhaurī says that Māīdās had grown old, Vol. I, p. 446.

148 P. Della Valle, Vol. I, p. 71.

149 See Manrique's account, Vol. II, pp. 105-115.

limbs to flogging.[150] He also notices the existence of a pilgrim tax.[151]

General remarks on administration.

The administrative system of Shāhjahān maintained its vigour and vitality in its outward appearance. The campaigns in Balkh, Qandahār, and the Deccan, and the prevalence of peace in the Empire are a sufficient indication of the stability of the government. The assertion of Bernier and Manucci that promotion in service was slow and gradual shows that regard was still paid to efficiency.[152] Manucci gives many instances of Shāhjahān's strict justice, and Tavernier's account confirms this. He says that during his (Shāhjahān's) reign the policy was so strict, and particularly with reference to the safety of roads, that there was never any necessity for executing a man for having committed theft.[153] On the basis of such evidence it would not be too much to conclude that the Moghul government, so far, was characterised by a sense of justice, and looked to the interests of the people, so long as they did not materially conflict with those of the rulers.

But Shāhjahān's reign presents a paradox. On the one hand there is a remarkable display of grandeur and greatness, on the other signs of decay are but too visible. We have, so far, been giving an account of the former; now let us turn our attention to the latter. Only a little reflection will reveal the source of this downward course; it is to be found in the defects which beset the administrative system. There is no doubt that some of these defects were inherent in the system, but a larger number had come into existence for want of caution and foresight

150 Manrique, Vol. II, pp. 105—115.

151 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 147.

152 Bernier, p. 212; At a later place he remarks: 'barbarous as we are apt to consider the sovereigns of Asia, they are not always unmindful of the justice that is done to the subjects,' p. 263. Manucci, Vol. II, p. 147.

153 Manucci, Vol. I, pp. 198—204. Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 325.

They worked slowly but steadily, and brought about the downfall of the Moghul Empire.

The military system which was the main support of the Empire had become loose. Besides its inherent drawbacks caused by the absence of discipline,[154] want of practice in concerted manoeuvres,[155] and too much reliance on elephants,[156] we find that more serious defects had crept into the system. The extension of the *Jāgīr* system and the consequent laxity in the *Dāgh-o-Tashīh* department vitally affected the efficiency of the *mansabdārī* system. The institution of cumulating extra distinctions made confusion worse confounded. Further it was in this period that the pernicious practice of granting *mansabs* to minors came into existence.[157] It may be conceded that some account of the services of a deceased officer was to be taken, but the assignment of a *mansab* to his minor heirs was in no way conducive to improving the tone of the administration.

Defects in the military system.

Moreover, the bulk of the army had increased considerably. And though it served its purpose inside the Empire, against the foreigners, especially the Persians, it could achieve little. There was, certainly, no dearth of brave and hardy warriors, but their equipment had become cumbersome. Consequently the armies could move only slowly,[158] and any feat like that performed by

154 Mandelslo, p. 118; Bernier, p. 55; Irvine, p. 185.

155 Mandelslo, p. 118. Della Valle says that every Indian soldier specialises himself in one particular arm and would fight with no other during the war, p. 225.

156 Manucci says that Shāhjahān had 3000 elephants, Vol. II, p. 10; Bernier, p. 277; Peter Mundy's account, Vol. II, pp. 52-3; Irvine, pp. 175—81.

157 Zāhid Khān's ten year old son Faizullah was appointed *mansabdār* of 1000 *zāt* and 400 *suwār*. Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 434; Md. Murād son of Salābat Khān was appointed a *mansabdār* of 500 *zāt* and 100 *suwār*. Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 384; Mandelslo, p. 118.

158 Irvine, p. 213. Mandelslo praises the orderliness of the camp but remarks that the army could not move more than five leagues a day, p. 118.

Akbar in his march to Gujarāt, was now impossible. Again, the army could fight well in the open country, but in broken and rugged tracts it was rendered ineffective. It was possible to subdue Ahmadnagar, because the Moghul army was superior in numbers ; nevertheless the process was long drawn out. In Balkh, however, even the superiority of numbers proved of small avail.

Laxity in revenue administration.

As in the army, so in the administration of revenue, laxity had crept in. It is true the State revenue had increased to 400 millions of rupees, but that direct contact between the government and the people, for which Akbar had laboured so long and so hard, almost disappeared. Moreover, as pointed out above, the burden of the peasant multiplied considerably : and Bernier is right when he says that land was falling out of cultivation.[159]

Bribery.

But the blasting evil of the administrative system was the widespread custom of *nazrs* or offerings to the Emperor and high officials. This was instituted by Nūr Jahān and was very popular in the reign of Jahāngīr ; but under Shāhjahān it became worse. From a voluntary gift it had now become a compulsory contribution ; so that the Emperor expected presents from his courtiers on every ceremonial occasion, and the latter in their turn extorted them from their subordinates. It was a gilded form of bribery, and practically every European traveller[160] makes a note of it and condemns it in strong language.

Relations with other Asiatic powers.

This chapter may best be concluded with a brief account of the relations of the Moghul Government with other Asiatic powers, and with the European merchants trading in the Empire. We have already discussed the relations with Persia and Trans-Oxiana, and we shall now give an account of

159 Bernier, p. 205; and p. 227; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 391.

160 Bernier, p. 271; Manucci, Vol. II, p. 378; Mandelslo, p. 121; Manrique, Vol. II, p. 271; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 143, and p. 233; Pelsaert, p. 57.

the relations of the Indian Moghuls with the Sultān of Turkey and the Sharīf of Mecca. The latter, however, was rather a religious than a temporary power.

Origin of communications with Turkey.

Communication between Turkey and the Moghul government opened in very peculiar circumstances. One Zarīf, an expert dealer in horses, obtained permission from the Emperor in 1637 to visit Arabia and Turkey to secure fine horses for the royal stud.[161] Shāhjahān asked Afzal Khān to write a letter to the Prime Minister of the Byzantine ruler recommending Zarīf to him. Moreover, the Emperor gave to Zarīf a letter and some presents including a sword for Sultān Murād IV.

Zarīf in Turkey.

Zarīf embarked at Lāhirī Bandar, and travelling through Mecca and Egypt, arrived at Mūsal where the Byzantine ruler received him in audience. Murād was especially pleased to receive Shāhjahān's letter, but was still happier to receive the jewelled sword which the latter had sent to him. On the eve of his undertaking the campaign against Baghdād, Murād regarded the receipt of a sword as very auspicious ; and he asked Zarīf to stay at Mūsal till his return from the campaign.[162]

Arslān Āqā sent to India.

On his return Murād sent Arslān Āqā as envoy to the Moghul court, and Zarīf accompanied him. They travelled from Basarah to Thattah by sea, and Shāhjahān received the Turkish envoy in April 1640 in Kashmir. Arslān Āqā returned to his country after a stay of about eight months in India.[163]

161 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 184; William Foster suggests that the aim of Zarīf's (whom he calls Sharīf) mission was to secure a Turko-Moghul alliance against Persia. The English Factory Records (163—41), Intro. x.

162 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 186.

163 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, pp. 216 and 218.

For the next ten years there was no exchange of embassies between Turkey and India. In 1650, the Sūrat officers reported the arrival of the Turkish envoy Sayyid Muhīuddīn.[164] Shāhjahān issued elaborate instructions for the reception of the Sayyid at various stages in the course of his journey to the north. The Sūrat officials were asked to present to the envoy a purse of 10,000 rupees, and similar purses were presented to him at Ujjain and Dihlī. At Burhānpūr and Māndū he received purses of 2,000 rupees. He was dismissed in November 1651, and with him was sent Hājī Ahmad Sa'īd as return envoy to Turkey.[165]

Arrival of Sayyid Muhīuddīn.

In his letter to Sultān Muhammad, Shāhjahān gave a detailed account of his transactions in Balkh and Badakhshān, and defended his attitude on religious grounds.[166] The Hājī was admitted to the audience of the Turkish Sultān on June 11, 1653.[167]

Ahmad Sa'īd sent to Turkey.

Sultān Muhammad now despatched Zulfiqār Āqā as envoy to India.[168] Hājī Ahmad Sa'īd travelled with him up to Basarah, where they parted company. The Turkish envoy embarked at Basarah and arrived at Sūrat in December 1653. A reception similar to that accorded to his predecessor was extended to him, and the Emperor received him in audience in March 1654. In his letter,[169] Sultān Md. referred to Nazr Md. Khān's request for help, and to his bitter complaints against Shāhjahān. But the Sultān expressed satisfaction at the explanation which the latter gave of his conduct in the letter sent through Hājī Ahmad Sa'īd.

Zulfiqār Āqā sent to India.

164 Wāris, f. 73 b. and f. 80.

165 Ibid., f. 81b.

166 Jāmi 'ul Inshā,' ff. 139—57.

167 Wāris (Add 6556), f. 434 and f. 488.

168 Wāris, f. 481 (Add 6556).

169 Jāmi 'ul Inshā,' ff. 139—57.

Shāhjahān seems to have been much offended by the patronising tone of Sultān Muhammad's letter, and in his reply,[170] which he sent through Qāi'm Beg in August 1654, he vehemently criticised the style of the Sultān's letter, taunted him with his youth, and with the inexperience of his councillors. After this till the end of Shāhjahān's reign there is no record of any further exchange of envoys between Turkey and India.

Qāi'm Beg's mission to Turkey.

During the reign of Shāhjahān large sums were constantly remitted for the benefit of the Sharīf and people of Mecca and Medina.[171] Md. Wāris remarks that from his accession till 1651 Shāhjahān remitted to Mecca about one million of rupees.[172] The curious method of sending the money was that whenever any leading officer started on the holy pilgrimage he was entrusted with merchandise, which, when sold in Mecca, brought cent per cent profits. This profit together with the capital was divided between the Sharīf and the poor and destitute of Mecca and Medina.

Mecca.

The period is marked by a rapid decline of the Portuguese power in India, and the rise of the Dutch and the English. With the exception of a brief period in the reign of Akbar we do not find the Portuguese to have maintained amicable relations with the Moghuls. In fact, they always extorted concessions from the latter by seizing their trading vessels, or intercepting the passage of pilgrim ships to Mecca. No Indian boat could venture out into the open sea without a Portuguese passport for which the officers at Daman and Dieu charged heavily.[173] Thus the Portuguese were regarded by the Moghuls

European traders: The Portuguese.

170 Wāris, ff. 485-86 (Add 6556).

171 Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 204; Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 102; Vol. II, p. 164, p. 342, p. 390, p. 406; Wāris, f. 14, f. 29, f. 68, ff. 81b-82, f. 467 (Add 6556), f. 486b.,

172 Wāris, f. 81b.

173 Manrique, Vol. II, p. 278.

as a necessary evil which they tolerated because they could not get rid of it.

In 1630 the Conde de Linhares, the governor of Goa, sent a representative to Sūrat offering that the Portuguese would undertake to settle at Sūrat and would bring them as much trade as the English and the Dutch, provided the latter were turned out. But in Sūrat feeling against the Portuguese was running high at this time, because they had only recently seized an Indian junk. To make matters worse they captured another Indian vessel named Mūsāī, and contemplated seizing another named Shāhī. But the Sūrat merchants won over the English, and Rastell who was coming with a fleet from England saved the Indian vessel from the hands of the Portuguese.[174]

Meanwhile, Shāhjahān who was staying in the Deccan, becoming offended at the conduct of the Portuguese, incited the 'Ādilshāh to blockade Goa. This together with the losses which they sustained in Ceylon brought the Portuguese to their senses, and they made peace with the Sūrat authorities. They surrendered Mūsāī and waived their demands for the expulsion of the Dutch and the English, and in return their claims for issuing passes for sea voyages were recognised, and their confiscated property on land was restored.

Henceforward, the only fear of the Portuguese was lest Shāhjahān should subdue Bījāpūr and threaten their security in Goa.[175] Accordingly, when Shāhjahān invaded the Deccan in 1635, the King of Spain ordered his officers at Goa to help both Bījāpūr and Ahmadnagar. An open rupture with the Moghul authorities occurred in 1638, when the latter besieged Daman and Dieu,[176] but peace was made through the intervention of President Fremlin, the chief of the English Factory at Sūrat.[177]

174 The English Factories in India, 1630—33, pp. 47-8; Introduction, viii and x.

175 Danvers, Vol. II, p. 252.

176 The English Factories in India (1630—33), pp. 123—5; Manucci, Vol. I, p. 185.

177 The English Factories in India (1630—33), Intro, xviii.

In both the maritime and commercial supremacy the Portuguese were supplanted by the Dutch. Their first factory was established at Sūrat by Pieter van den Broecke, and two years later Pieter Gillesz van Ravesteyn secured a satisfactory grant of trading privileges from Prince Shāhjahān who was governor of Gujarāt.[178] They continued to trade peacefully till the end of Jahāngīr's reign, and when Shāhjahān was going from Junnār to Agra for his coronation, the Dutch offered him presents and were favourably received.[179] But in March 1628 their factors at Agra were imprisoned for purchasing saltpetre without the Emperor's sanction. However, they secured their release by a little judicious bribery.

The Dutch.

In 1635, relations between the Dutch and the English, which had been amicable so far, became strained through the latter's concluding peace with the Portuguese.[180] Pieterszoon, the head of the Dutch factory, induced the governor of Sūrat to make an unfavourable report against the English to Court. In reply the Dutch were offered concessions provided they expelled the Portuguese from Daman and Dieu, and they agreed to control the entire sea-going trade of Sūrat, which at present was shared by both the English and the Portuguese. Pieterszoon was inclined to accept these conditions, but his superiors in Batavia forbade him any such undertaking. In the end he concluded a settlement with the Moghul authorities according to which the Dutch were allowed a free trade in indigo, were required to deposit twelve millions of rupees and were forbidden to build frigates, or anchor their boats anywhere else except Swally.

In these favourable circumstances the Dutch trade increased considerably, and they outdistanced both the English and the Portuguese. In 1642 they despatched a mission to Court, which

178 The English Factories in India (1618—21); Introduction, xxxvii.

179 The English Factories in India (1624-29), Introduction, xxv and xxx.

180 The English Factories in India (1634—36), Introduction, vii-ix, xii, xiii, xvi, and Danvers, Vol. II, p. 240.

succeeded in securing still more advantageous privileges.[181] But during the next six years complications arose which caused dissatisfaction both to the Dutch and to the Moghuls. The Dutch attempted to monopolise the tin trade, which annoyed the Gujarāt merchants who complained against them to Court.[182] On the other hand Shāyista Khān caused considerable losses to the Dutch by his extortions, and the provincial officials vexed them in Bengal. Jan Tack was despatched to court in 1648 to seek redress. Shāyista Khān was reproved, and the Sūrat officials were ordered to return the property of the Dutch merchants ; but Tack's request for trading privileges in Bengal was rejected.

Meanwhile, the Batavian authorities, on getting intelligence of the Moghul oppression in Sūrat, sent a fleet to retaliate both on the Moghuls and the English. The commander detained a junk belonging to the Emperor, and demanded complete redress for the grievances of his countrymen. The Sūrat authorities agreed to compensate fully the losses sustained by the Dutch, to waive their demand for free trade in Achin, to permit the Dutch to house their goods in a special ware-house and to move the Court for the redress of their grievances in Bengal and Orissa.

Jan Tack paid a second visit to Dihlī, and Shāhjahān received him with greater honour than before. Next year the Dutch were allowed to trade in Thattah.[183] But some of their grievances still remained unredressed, especially the treatment of their representatives in Bengal ; so a third mission was decided upon, which was led by Jan Tack and Jan Berckhout. But they found the Emperor absent from Dihlī, and had to wait there till his return.

181 The English Factories in India (1642—45), Introduction, x.

182 The English Factories in India (1646—50) Introduction, xvii, xviii, xx-xxi.

183 Arrival of four Dutchmen at Thattah. The English Factories in India (1651—54), p. 116 and Introduction, xi, xii.

On Shāhjahān's return to Dihlī, the Dutch messengers won over some of the principal members of court, especially Jahān Ārā, because Sūrat belonged to her. They were received in audience on December 31, 1652. Their demand for exemption from custom duty was rejected, but they were invited to pay a lump sum of Rs. 55,000. Also their request for the removal of restrictions on freight goods and the surrender of the Dutch fugitives who had been converted to Islām was put aside. But a *farmān* granting them exemption from road duties in Bengal was promised to them, and they were permitted to repair and build boats at Sūrat and to erect a house in Swally. In return the Dutch agreed to grant free passes to Indian vessels going to Achin and other parts in Dutch control.

As living in Dihlī was expensive Tack and Berckhout returned to Agra, but when they received the promised *farmāns*, they found them to be far from satisfactory. Berckhout repaired to Dihlī again, but as he carried no presents with him, he was not permitted to appear in audience; and the relations between the Dutch and the Moghuls continued on this unsatisfactory basis during the rest of the reign. In Bengal Jan Verpoorten attempted to secure some trading privileges from Prince Shujā', but as the matter was already receiving attention at court, he declined to interfere. In 1656 Jan Tack went for the fourth time from Agra to Dihlī, probably with the object of seeking redress for the outstanding grievances.[184]

The English.

The most vigorous competitors of the Dutch both in commerce and naval supremacy were the English. They had arrived earlier in India, and were slowly but steadily expanding their trade. Their interests at the close of Jahāngīr's reign were represented at the court by Bangham, and by Clements, who was the second in factory at Agra. In December 1627, when Shāhjahān arrived in Gujarāt on his way to Agra, Kerridge, the President of the Sūrat factory,

184 The English Factories in India (1655—60), p. 68.

went to Broach to offer him presents.[185] At Agra Bangham and Clements offered their felicitations to the new Emperor. In March 1628, they were imprisoned on the same charges as the Dutch, but amicable relations were soon restored. A year after, the English were invited to establish a factory in Sindh ; and in 1630 Rastell saved a Moghul junk from the hands of the Portuguese.[186]

The famine of 1630-31 hit the English trade hard, and they had to close all their factories in the Deccan except Sūrat. The financial losses caused by this slump were aggravated by the attempt of the Indian merchants to monopolise the indigo trade ; the arrival of a hostile governor at Sūrat made the situation worse.[187] Methwold, the President of the English factory, made peace with the Portuguese in 1635, and contemplated shifting his trade to Cambay.[188] This alarmed the Indian merchants, and they complained to the Emperor. Shāhjahān removed the embargo on the indigo trade, but forbade the ships visiting Sūrat to anchor anywhere else except Swally, and also the building of frigates in India. The English, like the Dutch, were asked to deposit twelve millions of rupees. But Methwold was unwilling to accept these conditions.

Meanwhile news arrived of the capture by the English pirates of Taufīqī, a Sūrat junk, and Mahmūdī a Dieu junk.[189] Upon this Methwold was imprisoned in Sūrat, and Robinson in Ahmadābād ; and the English goods at Agra and Thatta were attached. But Methwold was released after eight weeks, and in May 1636 he despatched John Drake to seek redress

185 The English Factories in India (1624—29), Introduction, xxv, xxix, xxxii.

186 The English Factories in India (1630—33), Introduction, viii, xxv, xxxiv.

187 The English Factories in India (1634—36), Introduction, xv.

188 The English Factories in India (1634—36), Introduction, xv.

189 The English Factories in India (1634—36), Introduction, xxii—vii

from the Emperor. The goods at Thatta and other places were restored, but nothing was done to punish the Sūrat governor ; to add insult to injury, the English were forbidden to wear arms. But this settlement was far from satisfactory, and so about the end of 1637, Bornford was sent from Sūrat to Agra.[190] During his one and a half year's stay at Court he succeeded in convincing the Emperor of the innocence of his countrymen in the Taufīqī and Mahmūdī affair. He obtained a promise of protection against further claims resulting therefrom, and a *farmān* for the furtherance of the English trade in Bengal.

Tempted by the favourable privileges obtained by the Dutch in 1643,[191] the English sent valuable presents to Court. They were not disappointed in their expectations, for the Emperor issued a *farmān* satisfying all their demands. But during the next seven years various troubles cropped up, and in July 1650 Richard Davidge was deputed to go to Dihlī, and represent the grievances of the English to the Emperor.[192] Armed with presents as he was, he easily gained the ear of Shāhjahān, and secured a *farmān* granting the English freedom from road dues, and ordering the officials in Sūrat and Sindh to abstain from causing vexation to the English merchants Henceforward the English trade grew rapidly, and at the close of the reign the condition of their factories gave grounds for satisfaction.

190 The English Factories in India (1637—41), Introduction, xx.

191 The English Factories in India (1642—45), Introduction, x.

192 The English Factories in India (1646—50), Introduction, xxii-iii.

CHAPTER XII

THE LAST PHASE

Camp life of the Moghuls: its reasons.

IT has been truly observed that the monarchs of the Chaghtāī dynasty passed most of their life in camp. But certainly it was not merely for pleasure that they moved from place to place. There were other factors, more impelling, which led them to make camp their home. First of all, the system of government, which has been characterised as military despotism. In an administration of this nature the 'King' provides the driving force to the entire machinery, and his presence is absolutely essential to keep it going. In other words, the nearer he is to the scene of action the greater is the promptitude and alertness of his officers. Secondly, the territorial ambitions of the monarchs. From Bābur to Aurangzīb, with the exception of the unfortunate Humāyūn, every ruler was imbued with the same unquenchable thirst for the extension of the Empire Thirdly, the need for coming into personal contact, if not with the people, at any rate with the provincial governments. This system of touring the country secured the loyalty of governors to the crown, and sometimes prevented the growth of corruption in the administration, and brought to the knowledge of the Emperor prevailing abuses, which, be it said to the credit of the Chaghtāī rulers, they were ever ready to suppress. Thus the life of the first six Moghuls was marked by strenuous activity.

Shāhjahān absent from Agra.

Out of his thirty-two years of rule Shāhjahān was for about half the time away from the capital of the Empire. A brief *résumé* of his strictly personal affairs during this period will not be without interest. Within a year from his accession, he had to leave Agra[1] for Gwālior to direct the suppression of Jujhār Singh.

[1] Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 243; Qazvīnī, f. 167b.

But the latter submitted, and the Emperor returned to the capital after a little more than a month's absence.[2] During the following December, however, he had to leave Agra again to punish Khān Jahān Lodhī, who had fled to the Deccan. Shāhjahān went by way of Ranthambhor, Chanda and Mālwa, and arrived on March 1, 1630 at Burhānpūr,[3] where he stayed for the following two years.

Birth of Husn Ārā.

Here, on April 13, a daughter was born to the Emperor; she was named Husn Ārā Begum.[4] Shāhjahān was now passing through a period of happiness. The Nizāmshāhī forts were falling one after another, and Khān Jahān was being relentlessly pursued from place to place. He was ultimately overtaken near Seendh and put to death. The success was celebrated with general rejoicings at court; banquets were held and officers were promoted. A sudden calamity, however, marred the joy of Shāhjahān and left him melancholy for the rest of his life.

Death of Mumtāz.

On the night of Wednesday June 7, 1631, a female child was born to Mumtāz Mahall. She could not survive the strain of delivery and began to sink rapidly. She asked Jahān Ārā Begum to call to her bedside the Emperor, who was in another apartment close by. Shāhjahān quickly repaired to the room where his wife was lying. Mumtāz Mahall opened her eyes, commended her children to the care of her husband, and bade him adieu. All this happened within such a short time that Shāhjahān was overwhelmed by the shock and burst into tears.[5]

[2] Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 254; Qazvīnī, f. 172b.

[3] Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 296; Qazvīnī, f. 190.

[4] Lāhaurī does not give any name, Vol. I, p. 300: Qazvīnī names her Husn Ārā Begum, f. 191.

[5] Lāhaurī, Vol. I. pp. 384—89. Qazvīnī, ff. 232—35b; See also B.M. Add 8910 on Tāj Mahall and verses composed by Shāhjahān.

The court went into mourning, and officers donned white garments. For a week Shāhjahān did not appear in *jharoka*, and it seemed that life had ceased to interest him. The intensity of the affliction turned his hair grey, and for the next two years he totally abstained from music and other similar entertainments, nor did he put on magnificent dress. At 'Īd and other such festive occasions he wept bitterly, lamenting the loss of the most loved of all his wives. It is said that he very often remarked that but for the Divine duty laid upon him by God, i.e., to strive for the good of his people, he would have divided his Empire among his sons and retired.[6]

Shāhjahān's grief.

For the time being, Mumtāz Mahall's body was interred in the Zainābād garden across the river Tāptī. Early in December 1631 it was sent to Agra, escorted by Prince Shujā', Wazīr Khān and Satī-un-Nisā', who was the chief maid-in-waiting of the late Empress. There it was buried on the banks of the Jumnā in a plot which had belonged to Rājā Mān Singh, but which Shāhjahān now acquired, at a nominal price, from his grandson, Jai Singh.[7] Within the next 17 years there was built over her tomb a magnificent sepulchre which was to mark for all time to come the tribute of a devoted husband to a devoted wife.

Mumtāz's body taken to Agra.

The court left Burhānpūr on March 6, 1632, and arrived at Agra in the following June,[8] and Shāhjahān stayed at the capital during the next two years. A fortnight after his return the Emperor formally celebrated the *Maktab* or school-going ceremony of his youngest son, Prince Murād.[9] Mullā Mīrak was appointed his

Shāhjahān's return to Agra.

[6] Qazvīnī remarks that the Emperor even began to use glasses, f. 232b.

[7] Qazvīnī, f. 235; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 403.

[8] Qazvīnī, f. 247b and f. 250; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 422 and p. 428.

[9] Qazvīnī, f. 251; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 430.

teacher, and was honoured with the gift of a thousand rupees. It seems that no banquet was held in honour of the occasion, because the Emperor's grief was too fresh.

Dārā's marriage.

Immediately after the celebration of his forty-first solar weighing, Shāhjahān ordered preparations for the marriage of his eldest son Dārā Shikoh.[10] His betrothal to the daughter of Prince Parwīz had taken place during the lifetime of Mumtāz Mahall, when the court was in the Deccan. Orders had then been issued to obtain rarities and precious articles from Gujarāt, Benāres, Sātgānv, Maldāh, Sonārgānv, and Patan, etc., and officers of the Imperial Household department at Agra and Lahore had been instructed to furnish jewellery, silver and gold utensils, and other such things required at the time of the wedding. But the sudden death of the Queen cut short these preparations, which were now renewed in January 1633.

An exhibition of the wedding gifts was arranged in the Hall of Public Audience on January 25, under the supervision of Jahān Ārā Begum and Satī-un-Nisā' Khānum. In the afternoon the Emperor and the ladies of the *harim* paid a visit to it, and in the evening royal officers were allowed access. The bride's mother similarly arranged her presents in the same hall and Shāhjahān went to see them. On February 1, the *hinābandī* ceremony was performed, and the royal orchestra, which had been silent so long, pealed forth joyful strains to proclaim that the period of mourning was over. Betel leaves, cardamoms and dry fruits were distributed among the attendants of the court, and in the evening an enchanting display of fireworks on the banks of the Jumnā cheered the people of Agra.

Next day Princes Shujā', Aurangzīb and Murād with Āsaf Khān and other leading *amīrs*, repaired to Dārā's house to congratulate him and offer him wedding presents. Then a magnificent procession was formed: Dārā mounted on an

[10] Qazvīnī, ff. 256b-57b and 261—265, Qazvīnī remarks that three million rupees were spent: Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 452—60.

elephant, and the courtiers following him in glittering array, some on horses, others on foot. The bridegroom was thus conducted to the Hall of Public Audience, where Shāhjahān gave him his presents, and according to the Indian custom bound on his forehead the *sihra* of pearls, emeralds and rubies, which Jahāngīr had bound to the forehead of Shāhjahān on the occasion of his marriage. In the evening brilliant illuminations on the Jumnā and a display of fireworks on its banks presented an attractive sight.

Music, dancing and other entertainments went on till the second watch and two *gharīs* of night, which was the auspicious hour for the ceremony of wedlock. At the appointed time Shāhjahān sent for Qāzī Muhammad Aslam to the *Shāhburj* where the latter read the marriage service in the presence of the Emperor, and fixed five hundred thousand rupees as *mihr* (wedding gift). Gold and silver pieces were showered on the married couple, and the attendants in their hurry to get them jostled one another and fell headlong. Prayers for the happiness of Dārā and his wife resounded to the sky, and poets composed chronograms to commemorate the occasion. These joyful festivities came to a close with the visit of the Emperor to Dārā's house. The total sum of money spent on this occasion amounted to three million and two hundred thousand rupees, of which six hundred thousand were contributed by the Royal Exchequer, one million and six hundred thousand by Jahān Ārā Begum and the rest by the bride's mother.

Shuja''s marriage.

Shortly after, the marriage[11] of Shujā' was celebrated with the same pomp and grandeur as that of his elder brother. He was married on February 23, to the daughter of Mirzā Rustam Safavī, and four hundred thousand rupees were fixed as *ka'bain* (wedding present).

11 Qazvīnī, ff. 265-66b; Lāhaurī, pp. 460—465.

The court reverted to its normal life, and though the scar of his bereavement was still deep enough, Shāhjahān began to while away his life as best as he might. Music, dancing, sport, and other similar amusements were revived, and the Emperor participated in them very enthusiastically. On May 28, 1633, he set two huge elephants, Sudhākar and Sūrat Sundar to fight a combat before the *jharoka* window. The brutes grappled for a while, and then separated. In his fury Sudhākar lost sight of his opponent, ran towards Aurangzīb and charged him. The prince, then barely 14 years old, stood calmly, kept his horse under control, and thrust his spear at the elephant's head. The animal retired, charged again, and felled Aurangzīb's horse. "But the prince jumped up from the ground, drew his sword, and faced the raging beast." In a moment Prince Shujā' and Rājā Jai Singh came to the rescue and attacked the elephant, which fled from the field, daunted by the spear thrusts and fireworks discharged at him, and by the arrival of Sūrat Sundar to renew the combat. Shāhjahān embraced the prince warmly, commended his courage, and gave him the title of '*Bahādur*' or brave. Three days later, on the occasion of his 15th birthday, the Emperor had Aurangzīb weighed against gold, and presented him with 5000 *muhrs* and the elephant Sudhākar.[12]

Aurangzīb's fight with an elephant

In August of the same year Shāhjahān fell ill, but was cured after three days.[13] At the end of the following January he left Agra to visit Kashmir, the 'paradise of India.'[14] On the way Prince Dārā fell seriously ill, and the family physician Wazīr Khān had to be summoned from

Visit to Kashmir.

12 Qazvīnī, ff. 274—77b. Sa'idāī Gīlānī versified the incident and he was weighed against silver; Tālibāī Kalīm also versified it; Qazvīnī rendered the account into prose and presented it to the Emperor who praised it. His allowance was increased, and he became a favourite of Shāhjahān who frequently asked him to write in ornate prose (f. 277b); Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pp. 489—92 does not mention the name of Qazvīnī or Kalīm in this connection. He refers only to Sa'idāī Gīlānī (p. 493).

13 Qazvīnī, f. 300; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 536.

14 Qazvīnī, f. 304; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 4.

the capital to treat him.[15] After a brief stay at Lahore, the Emperor resumed his journey to Kashmir where he arrived[16] on June 5, 1634. The enchanting beauty of this province hypnotised Shāhjahān, and though he had no staff of painters with him to reproduce its natural beauty, he had a number of excellent writers at court who have described Kashmir in glowingly picturesque language, which is poetic in spirit, though prose in form.[17]

He left Kashmir early in September,[18] and on November 16. arrived at Lahore,[19] where he stopped for two months. He started for the capital[20] on January 16, 1635, leaving Prince Murād, who had an attack of small pox, to be looked after by Wazīr Khān and Satī-un-Nisā' Khānum.[21] Paying a short visit to Dihlī, he arrived at Agra[22] on March 12, 1635.

Taking advantage of the Emperor's absence from Agra, Jujhār Singh had embarked upon an ambitious career. His rebellion together with the unsatisfactory state of affairs in the Deccan led Shāhjahān to move from Agra at the end of September.[23] From Bārī he made a digression to visit Bundelkhand.[24] He crossed the Narbada[25] early in January 1636, and marched straight to

Second visit to the Deccan.

15 Qazvīnī remarks that Dārā's illness was due to his grief on the death of his daughter, f. 307; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pt. 2, pp. 9-10.

16 Qazvīnī, f. 312b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 20.

17 Compare the descriptions of Kashmir written by Qazvīnī and Jalāluddīn Tabātabāī in their respective Pādshāhnāmas; also the versified narratives of Qudsī and Kalīm. Qazvīnī was in the royal retinue on this occasion, f. 329.

18 Qazvīnī, 326b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 49.

19 Qazvīnī, f. 333; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 62.

20 Qazvīnī, f. 337; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 70.

21 Qazvīnī, f. 337; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 70.

22 Qazvīnī, f. 340; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 74.

23 Qazvīnī, f. 350; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 105.

24 Qazvīnī, ff. 354b—357; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pt. 2, pp. 120—123.

25 Qazvīnī, f. 360; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 123.

Daulatābād.[26] After six months of hard work, he succeeded in restoring order in the province of Ahmadnagar, and in concluding satisfactory treaties with Bījāpūr and Golconda. He left the Deccan at the beginning of July,[27] and by way of Ujjain and Māndū arrived at Ajmīr[28] on November 25. There he halted for a week, and then marched to Agra where he arrived[29] on January 5, 1637.

In March Shāhjahān fell ill, but was cured after 19 days.[30] In the middle of the next month Prince Aurangzīb arrived from Daulatābād for his marriage with Dilras Bānū Begum, daughter of Shāhnawāz Khān. It was celebrated on May 8, 1637, with the customary pomp and festivities.[31]

Aurangzīb's marriage.

In February 1638 Qandahār was surrendered by 'Alī Mardān Khān to the Moghul officers, and henceforward for the next 15 years Shāhjahān's attention was engrossed with affairs on the North-West Frontier. He started on his first visit to Kabul[32] in August 1638, with a twofold object in view, to avert the threatened attack of Qandahār by the Persians, and to get an insight into the political situation in Trans-Oxiana. He arrived at Kabul on May 18, 1639, and after about four months' stay returned to Lahore in September.[33] He paid a second visit to Kashmir (January 1640—October),[34] and returned to Lahore in

First visit to Kabul.

26 Qazvīnī, f. 363; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 135.

27 Qazvīnī, f. 386; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 205.

28 Qazvīnī, f. 393b; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 224.

29 Qazvīnī, f. 400; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 235.

30 Qazvīnī, f. 402; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pt. 2, pp. 244-45.

31 Qazvīnī, ff. 406-7 and ff. 408b—410; Lāhaurī, Vol. I, pt. 2, pp. 266—71.

32 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 110.

33 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 163.

34 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 192

November. There he stayed for the two succeeding years. It was during this period that Āsaf Khān died[35] on November 11, 1641, and the marriage of Murād was celebrated[36] in July 1642. The court returned to Agra[37] in the beginning of January 1643.

With the exception of a short visit to Ajmīr,[38] Shāhjahān remained at Agra for the next two years. It was in March 1644 that Jahān Ārā's clothes caught fire, and she was seriously burnt. Shāhjahān was in anguish at the accident, and secured the services of the best physicians to treat her. Further he ordered that one thousand rupees should daily be distributed in alms to the poor and deserving. The princess was confined to bed for four months, and all the while constant prayers were offered for her recovery. Princes Aurangzīb and Murād arrived from their respective provinces to visit their ailing sister. On November 25, a splendid and costly festivity was held to celebrate her complete recovery, and on its conclusion Prince Aurangzīb who had offended his father, was restored on the recommendation of his sister to his former rank and favour.[39]

Jahān Ārā burnt.

Another incident which occurred about the same time was the murder of *Mīr Bakhshī* Salābat Khān[40] at the hands of Rāo Amar Singh, son of Rājā Gaj Singh. Amar Singh had been absent from court for some days on account of illness. He returned on July 26, 1644, and Salābat Khān took him to the house of Dārā to present him to the Emperor, who was staying

35 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 257.

36 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, pp. 304-5.

37 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 320.

38 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, pp. 344—49.

39 Lāhaurī, Vol. II. pp. 363—69, 375, 393—400. William Foster has completely disproved the story of an Englishman curing Jahān Ārā. See Introduction to The English Factories in India 1642—45, xxxv-vi.

40 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, pp. 380—84; Md. Sādiq who witnessed the incident says that Salābat Khān was talking to Makramat Khān, and the Emperor was dictating a *farmān* about 'Abdullah Khān Fīroz Jang. Amar Singh suspected that Salābat Khān was complaining against him.

there because of the illness of Jahān Ārā. Amar Singh stood on the left, and while the Emperor after his evening prayers was engaged in writing an order to an officer, Salābat Khān left his place on the right of the throne, came down and began to talk to some officer. All of a sudden Amar Singh ran with his drawn dagger towards him, and plunged it right up to the hilt in the left side of Salābat Khān who fell dead on the spot. Witnessing the dastardly and unprovoked attack, Khalīlullah Khān and Arjun, son of Vithaldās, attacked Amar Singh. Soon Sayyid Sālār and six or seven other *mansabdārs* and mace-bearers had surrounded Amar Singh, and killed him. Amar Singh's friends and followers attempted to take their revenge on Arjun, and later provoked a fight near the palace, during which Mīr Khān the *Mīr Tuzuk* and Malūk Chand the *Mushrif* lost their lives. Ultimately Sayyid Khān Jahān and Rashīd Khān Ansārī attacked the leaders of Amar Singh's party and killed them.

Shāhjahān in the West.

Early in 1645, Shāhjahān left Agra,[41] and spent three years in the western provinces. He visited Kashmir in the summer[42] of 1645, and twice went to Kabul to guide and supervise the campaign in Balkh and Badakhshān. At last, on realising the impossibility of holding the country beyond the Hindū Kush, he withdrew his army, left Kabul[43] in the last week of June 1647, and arrived at Agra by way of Lahore and Dihlī.[44]

The new capital.

While on his way to Agra he ordered the officers in Dihlī to expedite the completion of the buildings there.[45] Within the next two months the officers made the Dihlī palace habitable, and the Emperor left Agra[46] on March 27, 1648. The inauguration ceremony of the new

41 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 407.
42 Lāhaurī, Vol. II, p. 413.
43 Wāris, f. 5b.
44 Wāris, f. 12b.
45 Wāris, f. 12.
46 Wāris, f. 15b; Sālih, f. 541.

capital was performed on April 8, on occasion of the lunar weighing of Shāhjahān. Everything was done to make the celebrations as gorgeous and brilliant as possible. Agra, which since the days of Sikandar Lodhī had been the capital of the Muslim Empire in India, now changed places with Dihlī renamed Shāhjahānābād. To all outward appearances it seemed that a new era had dawned, but the truth is that Dihlī has never brought prosperity to any Empire. To the superstitious the change of capital indicated the first step in the downward course of the Moghul Empire.

Hardly had Shāhjahān been in the new capital for six months when a new danger called him away to the West. Shāh 'Abbās II invaded and occupied Qandahār, and the honour of the Moghul arms demanded that it should be recovered. Accordingly Shāhjahān left Dihlī[47] early in November 1648, and was away for about 18 months. He made feverish attempts to retrieve his prestige, and personally guided the campaigns, but his efforts proved of no avail. In the end, he struck his camp at Kabul, and returned to his capital,[48] on January 4, 1650.

Loss of Qandahār.

As if to shake off his despondency, Shāhjahān ordered grand preparations to celebrate the final establishment of the Imperial capital at Dihlī.[49] In 1648 the new buildings still needed some final touches, but the work of construction was now over. The Peacock throne was brought from Agra, and officers were summoned from far and near to witness the splendour of the occasion. For the time being Dihlī was transformed into a city of merriment. On every hand groups of men were to be seen entertaining themselves with music and dancing and the cries of 'Long live the King' rose to the sky. These festivities came to a close on March 10, 1650.

Grand celebrations.

47 Wāris, f. 28b.

48 Ibid., f. 50b.

49 Ibid., ff. 62—64; Archaeological Survey of India Reports, 1911-12.

About a year later, in February 1651, Shāhjahān started on his final visit to Kashmir.[50] He passed the ensuing summer there and returned to Lahore by the middle of September. Here he supervised the completion of arrangements for the second campaign against Qandahār. He left Lahore[51] on February 16, 1652, arrived at Kabul[52] on April 3, and returned much disappointed to Dihlī[53] on December 2.

Final visit to Kashmir.

During the succeeding four years Shāhjahān remained constantly in Dihlī, with the exception of two short visits to Agra and one to Ajmīr. He went to visit the Motī Masjid[54] in November-December 1653. In the following January, one Jasrūp Mīrathia[55] made an unsuccessful attempt on the life of the Emperor in open court He reached the first step of the throne, but Naubat Khān the Kotwāl struck with his baton at the assassin's chest and felled him to the ground. He, however, made another attempt to get up and ascend the staircase, but Khvāja Rahmatullah attacked him with his sword and cut him to pieces. These two officers were rewarded for their loyalty and promptness.

Shāhjahān remains in Dihlī.

In March of the same year Sulaimān Shikoh, the eldest son of Dārā, was married to the daughter of Rāo Amar Singh, sister's son to Rājā Jai Singh. The princess was brought to Dihlī one month before the date of the marriage, and she was placed in the *harim*, probably to be trained in the Moghul etiquette. She was then converted to Islām, and the nuptial ceremony was performed.[56]

Marriage of Sulaimān Shikoh.

While Shāhjahān was busy with other affairs in the Empire,

50 Wāris, f. 75.

51 Ibid., f. 91.

52 Ibid., f. 99b.

53 Ibid., (Add 6556), f. 462b.

54 Ibid., ff. 475b—77 and f. 487.

55 Ibid., f. 481.

56 Ibid., f. 481b.

Rānā Jagat Singh of Mewār started to repair the fort of Chitor, in contravention of the terms of the treaty between Jahāngīr and Rānā Amar Singh. Jagat Singh died in 1652, and was succeeded by Rāj Singh who continued the work of his predecessor. When this was brought to the notice of the Emperor, he was highly incensed at the conduct of the Rānā. He left Dihlī on September 24, 1654, to visit Ajmīr, and to bring Rāj Singh to submission. From Ajmīr he sent Sa'dullah Khān with 30,000 troops to demolish the repairs. Orders were issued to Shāyista Khān to be ready with his troops to come to Mewār in case of emergency ; and Prince Aurangzīb was asked to post his son Sultān Muhammad with 1,000 troops at Mandsūr. But Rāj Singh submitted and Chitor was demolished.[57]

Jagat Singh of Mewār.

The Emperor left Ajmīr[58] on November 14, 1654, and arrived at Fathpūr a month after. On the way Sultān Muhammad was admitted to the Imperial audience.[59] After stopping for three days at Fathpūr, Shāhjahān went to Agra, where he halted for a day only. On this occasion Prince Dārā and 'Alī Mardān Khān saw the Motī Masjid for the first time, and the Emperor went by boat to visit the tomb of his wife. He left Agra on December 18, and arrived at the capital ten days later ;[60] and for one year nothing untoward happened.

Shāhjahān returns from Ajmīr.

In December 1656 an epidemic appeared in Dihlī, and Shāhjahān with his court went for hunting to Gaḍh Mukteshwar on the Ganges, whence he returned to the capital[61] on January 31, 1657. But as the epidemic continued, he again left Dihlī on February 6, for Mukhlispūr,[62] a place on the Jumnā nearly a hundred

Epidemic in Dihlī.

57 Wāris, (Or. 1675), ff. 123b—126.

58 Ibid., (Add 6556), f. 489.

59 Ibid., f. 490.

60 Ibid., f. 491.

61 Ibid., f. 519.

62 Ibid., f. 521.

miles north of the capital. On account of its cool climate the Emperor had selected it as a summer resort, and had adorned it with beautiful palaces for himself and his eldest son, and given it the glorious name of Faizābād.' Here he held a glorious *darbār* to celebrate the completion of the first epoch of his reign.

Shāhjahān ill.

From Mukhlispūr Shāhjahān returned to the capital at the end of April 1657, and on September 6, " he suddenly fell ill of strangury and constipation. For one week the royal physicians toiled in vain. The malady went on increasing ; his lower limbs swelled, his palate and tongue grew very dry, and at times symptoms of fever appeared. During all this period the patient took no food or nourishment, and the medicines produced no effect. His weakness was extreme and his pain intense, though borne with heroic fortitude."[63]

Importance of the question of succession.

The report of the serious illness of the Emperor bred great consternation in the Empire, and dark clouds began to gather on the horizon. For the moment the question which engrossed common attention was as to who would be the next successor. Ever since the dawn of Muslim rule in India it had been arbitrated by sword. And although Bābur attempted to establish the practice of primogeniture, yet its conflict with the traditional law did not let it take root in the soil. As is well known, he nominated Humāyūn as his successor, but Kāmrān contested the claim ; and Mirzā Hindāl even proclaimed himself king at Agra. Humāyūn in his turn nominated Akbar, but so long as Mirzā Hakīm was alive, he did not recognise the sovereignty of his elder brother. When Jahāngīr ascended the throne, his son Khusrav made a desperate bid for the crown. Thus a quarrel for the succession to the throne became a rule rather than an exception in Muslim India.

[63] Sarkār: History of Aurangzīb, Vol. I, pp. 302-3.

But why did no other previous war of succession cause so much bloodshed and upheaval in the Moghul Empire? The reason is not far to seek. On no other occasion was the might of the rival claimants so equally poised. Kāmrān, Hindāl, Hakīm and Khusrav did not command a superior following. But every one of the four sons of Shāhjahān was a monarch by himself. In fact, in strict accordance with the Tīmurid-Changīzide tradition the entire Moghul Empire had been split up among the future contestants.

Why this war so sanguinary?

Dārā, the heir-designate, held the viceroyalty of rich and long settled provinces like Allahābād, the Panjāb, and Multān. He enjoyed the lofty title of Shāh Buland Iqbāl, and the unprecedented rank of a Commander of Forty thousand Horse. In court he was allowed to sit on a gold chair near the throne, and every aspirant to office or title solicited his mediation with the Emperor. "In short, everything was done to make the public familiar with the idea that he was their future sovereign, and to render the transfer of the crown to him on Shāhjahān's death easy."

Dārā

Though Dārā possessed broad religious views, and was a devotee of the pantheistic philosophy, he was fickle, haughty, peevish and unpractical. He was susceptible to flattery, and his council was swayed by sycophants. His life at court and the excessive love of his father had spoilt him, and kept him ignorant of the art of administration, or the necessity and the manner of winning the hearts of good officers. Hence both by temperament and education he was unfit to face the ordeal before him.[64]

The second son, Shujā', held the governorship of Bengal. He was a man of great intelligence, elegant taste, and amiable disposition. "But his constant devotion to pleasure, the easy administration of Bengal,

Shujā'.

[64] The writer of Latāi'f-ul-Akhbār gives a thumb-nail picture of Dārā's character.

and his 17 years' residence in that enervating country, had made him weak, indolent and negligent, incapable of arduous toil, sustained effort, vigilant caution and profound combination. He had allowed his administration to drift, his army to grow inefficient, and all his departments to fall into a slack and sleepy condition. . . . His health had been impaired by the pestilential climate of Bengal, and he already felt the touch of age, though only just turned forty-one. His mental powers were as keen as before, but they required great emergencies to call them forth, and shone only by flashes."[65]

Aurangzīb.

The third son, Aurangzīb, held the viceroyalty of the Deccan. He stood in sharp contrast to his other three brothers, and was possessed of sterling merits. From the age of sixteen onwards he passed his life amidst the toils and trials of government. His cool courage, his unflinching determination, his dogged perseverance won him the admiration, if not always the devotion, of his contemporaries. In Balkh and Qandahār, in Multān and Gujarāt, in Sindh and the Deccan he gave proofs of the hard metal he was made of. He was as brave on the field of battle as he was prudent and practical in the more peaceful art of government. And although he was more feared than loved, he could truly evaluate the characters of men, and knew well how and where to use them. It was these qualities which made him capable of snatching victory out of defeat.

Murād.

The fourth son, Murād, held the viceroyalty of Mālwa and Gujarāt. He combined in his character opposing qualities. He was recklessly brave, but devoted to a life of ease and pleasure. He possessed the impetuosity and dash of a daring soldier, but lacked the gifts of a successful commander. He was impulsive and unbusinesslike, but was courteous. In short, he was rather an empty-headed youngster imbued with aspirations to the throne, than a tactical and cautious person who could conceive and execute

65 Sarkār: History of Aurangzīb, Vol. II, pp. 127-28.

his well laid out plans for the consummation of his ambitions.

These three brothers, though so distinctly apart in their character and temperament, had one bond of unity ; it was their common jealousy of Dārā. Muhammad Amīn, the author of the Zafarnāmah, says that after the failure of the second Qandahār campaign, Shujā and Aurangzīb, on their way to their respective provinces, arrived together at Dihlī, where they stopped for six days to cement the bond of friendship between them. Shujā' went to the house of Aurangzīb and stayed there for three days ; and for a similar three days Aurangzīb enjoyed the hospitality of his elder brother. Further Shujā' betrothed his daughter to Sultān Muhammad and Aurangzīb betrothed his daughter to Zain-al-'ābidīn.[66]

The other three brothers combine against Dārā.

On the receipt of the report of the serious illness of the Emperor, Aurangzīb, Shujā', and Murād opened a brisk correspondence between them. To expedite the exchange of letters, relays were established at convenient stages between Gujarāt and Bengal by way of the Deccan and Orissa.[67] Some of these letters which have survived destruction, and have come down to us unfold a thrilling story of the plans made by these brothers to overthrow Dārā. It is clear that the advance of Shujā' from Bengal, and of Murād and Aurangzīb from the Deccan was according to a preconcerted agreement among them, in which they promised to meet near Agra.[68]

Correspondence.

Another fact which emerges from the study of this correspondence is the solicitude and respect with which Aurangzīb addressed his letters to his two brothers. Both Aurangzīb and Murād addressed Shujā' as Bhāī Jiyū, and in one of the letters to Shujā'.

Aurangzīb's feigned solicitude

66 Zafarnāma-i-'Ālamgīrī, f. 9.

67 'Ināyetnāma, Aurangzīb to Shujā' f. 38b; Jāmi'ul Inshā', Murad to Aurangzīb, f. 359.

68 'Ināyetnāma, f. 37; Jāmi'ul Inshā'. f. 375.

Aurangzīb suggested that at the court of every one of the three brothers there should be representatives of the other two, to facilitate their combination and mature their unity.[69] In another letter he wrote to Shujā' 'that if the enemy attacks only one of us, the other two should try to prevent him.' Finally immediately before the opening of the campaign Aurangzīb warned Shujā' not to be deceived by the flattering and conciliatory attitude of Dārā.[70]

Correspondence between Aurangzīb and Murād.

Equally interesting is the correspondence between Murād and Aurangzīb. In what is probably one of his earlier letters Murād complains to Aurangzīb regarding his omission to write to him about the successful termination of the Bījāpūr campaign. "But this can only be attributed to your preoccupation; otherwise, delay in correspondence at this juncture is improper." Again "as the exchange of news is one condition of our compact, I beg you to let me know what you have learnt from spiritual and temporal sources . . . . Also I beseech you to write something to Bhāī Jiyū in Bengal."[71] Aurangzīb wrote to Murād "I understand that the influence of the enemy in administration, transfers and appointments has attained undesirable proportions. He is now trying to collect treasure and an army . . . . We should be very cautious at this time and should not write anything undesirable in our letters."[72] Soon a compact was made between Aurangzīb and Murād according to which after their victory over Dārā, Murād was to get the western part of the Empire.[73]

69 'Ināyetnāma, f 38b.

70 'Ināyetnāma, f. 37.

71 Jāmi'ul Inshā' : Murād to Aurangzīb, f. 357.

72 'Ināyetnāma : Aurangzīb to Murād, f. 41.

73 'Ināyetnāma : Aurangzīb to Murād, f. 40; Zafarnāmah. f. 17b.

Thus the assertion of Aurangzīb that his real object in undertaking the campaign against Dārā was to free the Emperor from the latter's thraldom was merely a sham and a pretence. From the start his design was to secure the throne for himself, because he believed that his father was no longer competent to carry on the government of the Empire. How far he was sincere in his promises to Shujā' and Murād, especially to the latter, it is difficult to judge. But later events show that he was playing a game of hypocrisy and duplicity. We should credit him with sufficient shrewdness to realise that Murād with the western provinces in his hands would be more of a rival than a friend. Is it possible to believe that he was ignorant of the fatal consequences of such a step taken by his ancestor Humāyūn? Prudence dictated alliance with Murād, and when once the storm had passed over Aurangzīb threw him into prison. The step may be condemned on moral and ethical grounds, but Aurangzīb was not playing the role of a philosopher. He was aiming at kingship.

Aurangzīb's real designs.

After the first week of his illness, Shāhjahān nominated Dārā as his successor, and ordered his officers to obey him 'as their sovereign in everything, at all times, and in every place.' Naturally he began to strengthen his position, 'an attempt often thwarted by the necessity of obtaining Shāhjahān's consent in important matters, and also by his own faults of judgment.' The first indication of his aims was furnished by the issue of orders to Mīr Jumla, Mahābat Khān and other Imperial officers to return from the Deccan to court with the reinforcements they had led for the Bījāpūr campaign. Later at his instance the Emperor promoted his followers and friends. Khalīlullah Khān was appointed *subehdār* of Dihlī, and Qāsim Khān was tempted with the governorship of Gujarāt.[74]

Dārā strengthens his position.

[74] Sarkār: History of Aurangzīb. Vol. I. p. 308.

In fact the contemplated reshuffling of the provincial administration gave the greatest alarm to the other three princes.

Alarm among his rivals.

The assignment of Bihār to Dārā was the first step in that direction; and it was rumoured that Mālwā would be taken from Murād, and Berār from Aurangzīb.[75] Thus the time was ripe to open the conflict:

As at a signal, straight the sons prepare
For open force, and rush to sudden war.
Meeting like winds broke loose upon the main
To prove by arms whose fate it was to reign.

Though Shāhjahān was completely recovered by the middle of November 1657, the rumours which had found their way to

Murād proclaims independence.

the Deccan and Bengal together with the preparations of Dārā, wrought irretrievable mischief. Murād murdered his *dīvān* 'Alī Naqī (early in October), looted Sūrat (early in November), and finally proclaimed himself king on December 5.[76] "At first Dārā sent him a letter purporting to proceed from the Emperor, transferring him from Gujarāt to Berār. Dārā thereby hoped to set one foe against another, as Berār was included in Aurangzīb's viceroyalty. Murād saw through the plan, laughed the order to scorn and neither moved from Gujarāt nor acted against Aurangzīb."[77] Likewise in Bengal Shujā also proclaimed himself king.

When the activities of the two princes were reported to Shāhjahān, he consented to sending armies to punish them.

Shāhjahān sends armies.

Two armies were despatched to Mālwa, one under Qāsim Khān to oust Murād from the governorship of Gujarāt, and the other under Jaswant Singh to check the advance of Aurangzīb from the

75 Jāmi'ul Inshā': Murād to Aurangzīb, f. 355.

76 Sarkār: History of Aurangzīb, Vol. I, p. 309.

77 Ibid.

Deccan. Shāyista Khān who was rightly suspected of being in close alliance with Aurangzīb, was recalled from Mālwa Meanwhile Murād and Aurangzīb had settled the plan of their march towards the north. Even the duration and length of stages was set down to enable them to meet at a fixed place and at a fixed time.[78]

Aurangzīb imprisons Mīr Jumla.

After imprisoning Mīr Jumla, who in obedience to Imperial orders was coming to court,[79] Aurangzīb set out from Burhānpūr on March 20, 1658, crossed the Narbada on April 3, and joined Murād eleven days later. In the meantime Jaswant Singh and Qāsim Khān arrived at Ujjain, and in the absence of information regarding the movement of the two princes stopped there to watch the course of events. Here a Brahman named Kavi Rāy brought to Jaswant Singh a letter from Aurangzīb advising him to give up opposition and return peacefully to Jodhpūr.[80] But Jaswant Singh insisted on carrying out the orders of the Emperor, declined to accept the prince's suggestion and prepared to fight. A sanguinary battle ensued between the rival forces at Dharmat, where the Rājpūts fought with their accustomed ardour making light of death compared with the disgrace of defeat. Once it seemed "that Aurangzīb would have to repent his northward march," but he rallied his men, charged the Rajpūt assailants, and turned the defeat into victory. Jaswant Singh escaped wounded to Jodhpūr, and the Muslims retreated towards Agra.[81]

Significance of Dharmat.

Dharmat proved to be the decisive battle in this war of succession. "The hero of the Deccan wars faced the world not only without loss, but with his military reputation rendered absolutely unrivalled in India. Waverers hesitated no longer ; they now knew beyond a moment's doubt which of the four brothers

78 Jāmi'ul Inshā' : Murād to Aurangzīb, f. 366.

79 Ibid., f. 365. Murād wrote to Aurangzīb : "I am glad that you have imprisoned and won over Mīr Jumla."

80 Khulāsat ut Tawārīkh, f. 384.

81 Sarkār : History of Aurangzīb, Vol. II, pp. 1—30.

was the chosen favourite of victory. Even on the field of battle Aurangzīb was hailed with "shouts of congratulation from the earth and the age," as his servant wrote with pardonable exaggeration."[82]

Shāhjahān had been staying at Agra since November 1657. His recent illness had left him weak and susceptible to heat.

Dārā's efforts.

Upon the advice of his doctors he set out from Agra on April 11, 1658, and reached Bilochpūr, where he heard the news of the defeat at Dharmat. Dārā now importuned his father to return to Agra, where he would equip a new force to fight the rebellious princes. Meanwhile some feeble attempts were made at reconciliation. Jahān Ārā wrote a letter to Aurangzīb in which she tried to convince him that 'the Emperor was in actual control of the State affairs, and that with the exception of that spent in prayers, he devotes the whole of his time to looking after the welfare of his subjects and to propagating religion.' She warned him of his temerity, and said, "It is against all canons of wisdom and foresight to fight the eldest Prince, you should observe the path of loyalty and obedience and should stop at the place whither you have arrived. To prevent the waste of Muslim lives on either side, send your representations to court."[83] But the counsel fell on deaf ears.

It seems that Shāhjahān also wrote a similar letter to Aurangzīb, asking him to desist from the course he had taken.

Aurangzīb writes to the Emperor.

But the latter replied, "You no longer hold the control of political or financial affairs; it is the Eldest Prince who has usurped it. He has ever caused vexation to me, and attempted to close the doors of gain to me on every side. He wanted to curtail the income of the Deccan treasury in order to ruin my army. With tremendous efforts I had reduced the Bījāpūrians to such a plight

8 Sarkār: History of Au·angzīb, Vol. II, pp. 1—30.

83 Jāmi'ul Inshā', ff. 157-58; Sālih says that Jahān Ārā sent this letter through her own *Bakhshī* Md. Fārūq.

that either they would have paid a rich tribute, or their country would have been plundered. But the Eldest Prince sent messengers to recall the army, and held out hopes of peace to the Bījāpūrians, who thus encouraged, created great trouble . . . If by chance any mishap had occurred to the Imperial army in that foreign land, our shame would have been proclaimed throughout the world . . . ., and it would not have been possible to retrieve our prestige. But by the Grace of God I returned safely from that country. Further, not content with this, he instigated you, taking advantage of your lack of consideration towards me, to transfer Berār from my *jāgīr*, and to send Jaswant Singh with a large army to seize my limited territories from me, and to spare not even a span of land in my possession. When I realised that you had ceased to control political affairs, and that at his suggestion you regard your other sons as your enemies and issue *farmāns* as he desires, to preserve my self-respect I decided to come to you personally to explain the entire situation. Jaswant Singh stood in my way. I inflicted on him a crushing defeat. Now I hear that the Shāh Buland Iqbāl has arrived at Dholpūr to give battle. As he cannot succeed against me, it would be better for him to retire to his *jāgīr* in the Panjāb, and leave your service in my hands."[84]

This letter explains clearly the causes of Aurangzīb's venomous hatred of Dārā, and shows how determined he was to grasp the sceptre which he saw was falling from the hands of his father. He and Murād marched from Ujjain and arrived at Gwālior

The allies cross the Chambal.

They found the passage of the Chambal barred to them by the men whom Dārā had posted there. With the assistance of Champat Rāy,[85] a Bundelah chief, he crossed the river at

84 Jāmi'ul Inshā', ff. 158—60.

85 Futūhāt 'Ālamgīrī says it was Hāthīrāj, the *Zamīndār* of Gohad, f. 23b; Dilkushā' says that it was Champat, f. 156; so also in Chhatra Prakāsh, p. 5; Khulāsat ut Tawārīkh is silent.

Bhadāwar, an unknown ford. Upon this Dārā retreated and arranged his army at Sāmūgadh. After a severe struggle lasting from the morning till midday Dārā was defeated, and he fled to Agra. So Aurangzīb's prophecy was fulfilled, and the crown of Dihlī came within his grip.

Dārā's flight.

After his flight from Sāmūgadh Dārā dared not stop at Agra, and marched straight to Dihlī to collect a fresh army to fight the victorious brothers. Meanwhile Murād and Aurangzīb stopped on the field of battle to take a little rest.

Murād repents.

Soon after the battle of Dharmat Murād realised that his belief in the death of the Emperor was unfounded. Accordingly he quickly wrote a letter to his father in very apologetic terms: "I have nothing in my heart but feelings of obedience and respect for you, but to err is human. On receiving the unfortunate report about you, I committed some faults for which I am exceedingly sorry. During your illness Dādā Bhāī Jiyū took steps contrary to your wishes, stopped all correspondence between us and our *vakīls* at the court, and prevented our letters, especially mine, from being laid before you. In these circumstances how could I expect a reply? Naturally I wanted to remove my suspicions, and so started for the court. I did not take the Ajmīr route because of the scarcity of water there, and so I came through Mālwa where I was joined by Aurangzīb who was also coming to pay his respects. Jaswant Singh blocked our way, and we defeated him."[86] In a subsequent letter Murād humbly requested for pardon from his father.

From the attitude of Murād it is apparent that, though he coveted the throne, he was averse to the idea of ascending it in the lifetime of his father. He proclaimed himself king in Gujarāt because he believed that his father was dead; and he tried to convince both Aurangzīb and Shujā' that he was right In a letter to the latter he writes: "I have been for long certain

[86] Jāmi'ul Inshā': Murād to Shāhjahān, ff. 379-80.

of the Emperor's death; but Bhāī Aurangzīb still hesitates to believe it. But I trust to his guidance."[87] Thus Murād was true to his character, and his part in the war of succession was due to his impulsive nature. Left alone, he would not have heaped so many indignities on his father as his elder brother did.

After the arrival of Murād and Aurangzīb in the precincts of Agra, Shāhjahān wrote to the latter to ask him to come to him soon, because he was overpowered by a strong desire to see him. Aurangzīb replied very politely that he was waiting for the auspicious hour. This was followed by further correspondence between father and son. On one occasion Jahān Ārā herself came to Aurangzīb with a message from her father, and told him that the Emperor proposed to nominate him as heir-apparent, to confirm Dārā in the Panjāb and the Western provinces, to assign the Deccan to Mua'zzam, Gujarāt to Murād, and Bengal to Shujā'. But Aurangzīb replied that until he had finally dealt with Dārā he would not go to see the Emperor. So Jahān Ārā returned disappointed.[88]

Shāhjahān's last effort.

Aurangzīb was certainly clever enough to realise the entire situation confronting him. How could he live peacefully so long as Dārā wielded even a fraction of the authority? But his coldness towards the Emperor was due to the suspicions created in his mind by Khalīlullah Khān who warned him of the hostile intentions of his father.[89] Nevertheless Aurangzīb relented and set out from Dahr Ārā gardens to visit his father, but was stopped by Shāyista Khān and Shaykh Mīr. Shortly after, Nāhir Dil Chela arrived with a *farmān* from Shāhjahān to Dārā, in which the latter was advised to stay in Dihlī while he (Shāhjahān) would give short shrift to his enemies. This

87 Jāmi'ul Inshā': Murād to Shujā', f. 376.

88 Zafarnāma, f. 36; Futūhāt 'Ālamgīrī, f. 27.

89 Zafarnāma, f. 32b; Md. Sādiq says that he was one of the party who conducted negotiations, and that Aurangzīb detained Khalīlullah Khān and dismissed Fāzil Khān and the writer, ff. 201-2; Sālih gives the same version on reliable authority, f. 657.

finally exposed the duplicity of Shāhjahān, and Aurangzīb decided not to go to see him. The fort of Agra had already been surrendered, and henceforward Shāhjahān was a prisoner in it.[90]

Dārā active.

To revert to the activities of Dārā after his flight from Agra. He did not even stop at Dihlī, so terrified was he of Aurangzīb, but retreated to Lahore, and held the line of the Biās against the advance of his rivals. Meanwhile Aurangzīb started from Agra, and near Mathurā treacherously imprisoned Murād. He then resumed his onward march and arrived at Dihlī, where he did not stay long. He sowed dissension in the army of Dārā, and made him suspicious of his loyal general Dāūd Khān. Dārā abandoned Lahore, fled to Multān and Sindh, hotly pursued by Aurangzīb's officers. From Sindh he passed into the Cutch and entered Gujarāt, where he was welcomed by the governor. Here he received overtures of help from Jaswant Singh, and so he marched to Ajmīr. But Jaswant Singh changed sides, and Dārā had to fight a hotly contested battle at Deorāī with the officers of Aurangzīb. He was defeated, and fled to Ahmadābād, where the governor closed the gates on him. He retreated to Sindh with a view to taking refuge in Persia. On his way thither his host Malik Jīwan, the *Zamīndār* of Dāder, treacherously imprisoned him and handed him over to Aurangzīb's men. Dārā was taken to Dihlī where after being paraded through the city he was executed.

Shujā''s activities.

So far little notice has been taken of Shujā'. Like Murād he also proclaimed himself king in Bengal, and in accordance with a preconcerted plan among the three brothers he advanced to Patna, which soon fell into his hands. When the news of his advance was reported, Shāhjahān agreed to Dārā's proposal to send Jai Singh and Sulaimān Shikoh against him. Shujā' was defeated near Bahādurpūr five miles north-east of Benāres, and fled towards

90 Zafarnāma, f. 38.

Bengal, followed by the victorious Sulaimān Shikoh. But an urgent summons from his father to return and help him in fighting with Aurangzīb and Murād compelled Sulaimān Shikoh to conclude peace with Shujā' (early in May 1658). Meanwhile Aurangzīb had fought and won ; and from Dihlī he wrote a loving letter to Shujā'. But the absence of Aurangzīb in the Panjāb revived Shujā''s ambitions to occupy Agra, 'to secure the person of Shāhjahān and restore the old government.' But his schemes were doomed to failure because he miscalculated Aurangzīb's energy. At the end of October 1658 he marched with his huge army and occupied without opposition Rohtās, Chunār and Benāres. But soon Aurangzīb arrived to deal with him, and defeated him at Khajwah. Shujā' fled, and was pursued by Mua'zzam Khān and Prince Sultān Muhammad, who hounded him out of Bengal to die a miserable death in some unknown part of Arakān.

Fate of Sulaimān Shikoh.

To complete the story of the war of succession a brief reference may be made to the fate of Sulaimān Shikoh. Upon the news of his father's adversity, he was deserted by Jai Singh and later on by Dilīr Khān. He fled to Hardwār, and crossed to Gaḍhwāl, where Prithwī Singh, the Rājā of Srīnagar, gave him refuge. But his host, later on, surrendered him to Aurangzīb, who had him drugged to death in the fort of Gwālior, where his uncle Murād was also living. Murād was executed on the charge of murdering 'Alī Naqī.

Shāhjahān a closely guarded prisoner.

Shāhjahān passed the next seven and a half years as a closely guarded captive in the fort of Agra. In the beginning he refused to reconcile himself to his fate, and continued to address letters to Dārā "breathing undiminished affection and offering him help and advice." He even made a last bid for liberty "when Shujā' was reported to be advancing from Patna to seize Agra. The old Emperor sent out letters blessing the enterprise, and calling upon all loyal subjects to rally round his coming deliverer." But his attempt failed, 'and the only

result was to tighten the bonds of his captivity.' Nobody was allowed to interview him except in the presence of his gaoler Sultān Muhammad and with the previous sanction of Aurangzīb. Every remark which fell from his lips was promptly reported to Aurangzīb, who took effective steps to prevent him from writing letters. The eunuchs who smuggled these letters out were removed, others were warned, and finally the captive was deprived of writing materials.[91]

But the rigour of imprisonment did not end here. Shāhjahān was constantly harassed by pinpricks in a most insulting fashion.

Harassed by his gaolers.

Aurangzīb deprived his father of all his jewels, precious stones, and other articles which he held so dear. Even the rooms of royal apparel, furniture and plate were sealed, and were rarely opened except in the presence of responsible officials and Mu'tamid Khān, the trusted eunuch of Aurangzīb. At every step Shāhjahān was insulted by his guards, who treated him like a common prisoner. In the end Providence gave him strength to bear the calamity, and in a spirit of resignation he passed his life in religious services and reading.

Aurangzīb's treatment of his father deserves severest condemnation on ethical grounds. His attitude throughout was

Strictures on Aurangzīb's conduct.

influenced by a deep-seated spirit of hatred and revenge. True it is that a captive sovereign is a source of great danger, but it is hard to find justification for Aurangzīb's denying Shāhjahān even the ordinary amenities of life, such as befitted the dignity of his position. Having secured possession of the throne, it seems that Aurangzīb forgot his filial obligations. It is true that the Imperial treasury lawfully belonged to the public, but what did Aurangzīb do to promote the public weal? He frittered away the amassed treasures in carrying on fruitless wars in the Deccan. If he had no inclination to put on gorgeous dress or to use jewels, why should he have denied, even the

91 Sarkār: History of Aurangzīb, Vol. III, p. 145.

sight of them to his father, if that afforded him satisfaction? Was it not his duty to make the burden of imprisonment as light on his father as possible? Whatever may be the religious justification for Aurangzīb's conduct, the verdict of history which is mainly a study of human nature, will be that he was unpardonably cruel to his father.

Shāhjahān's character: native chroniclers.

The character of Shāhjahān is a very controversial topic. Indian chroniclers paint him as the very ideal of a Muslim monarch.[92] They style him the pillar of the *Shara'*, the defender of religion, and the restorer of the waning fortunes of Islām in India. They praise his piety, his religiousness and his deep concern for the well being of his subjects. They condone his faults, and justify some of his darkest deeds on the grounds of the public and political morality of the time. Thus according to their picture Shāhjahān appears as a virtuous and affable sovereign with hardly a blemish in his character worth mentioning.

European travellers.

In direct contrast to this are the assertions of contemporary European travellers. Bernier and Manucci describe numerous scandals connected with the private life of Shāhjahān, and depict him as a despicable creature, whose only concern in life was how to indulge in bestial sensuality and monstrous lewdness. According to them the frequent fancy bazars in the palace, the maintenance of a large number of dancing girls by the State, the presence of hundreds of maid servants in the *seraglio*, were so many objects for the satisfaction of Shāhjahān's lust.

Manucci says, "It would seem as if the only thing Shāhjahān cared for was the search for women to serve his pleasure."[93] He also writes about the intimacy of Shāhjahān with the wives of Ja'fer Khān and Khalīlullah Khān, and says that it became so notorious that when they went to court the

[92] Qazvīnī, f. 302: Lāhaurī, Vol. I, p. 139.

[93] Manucci, Vol. I, p. 195.

mendicants in loud voice, cried out to Ja'fer Khān's wife: "O Breakfast of Shāhjahān, remember us!" And when the wife of Khalīlullah Khān went by, they shouted: "O Luncheon of Shāhjahān, succour us!"[94] Bernier remarks that Shāhjahān had a weakness for the flesh.[95] Manrique speaks of Shāhjahān's violating the chastity of the wife of Shāyista Khān with the assistance of his daughter.[96] Peter Mundy glibly talks of Shāhjahān's incestuous connection with his daughter Chamni Begum.[97] Tavernier writes in the same strain.[98]

It is impossible to find confirmatory evidence for these scandals in the works of Indian chroniclers. They may be true, or again they may not. Certain it is that the Moghuls were not monogamous. Shāhjahān himself married three wives; Jahāngīr had about a score of them; and Akbar also had many. Wāris mentions the names of Akbarābādī Mahall and Fathpurī Mahall as the two favourite slave-girls of Shāhjahān.[99] It is possible there may have been many more. Still the sweeping statements of European travellers are like so many generalisations, far from the truth.

Shāhjahān fond of music and dancing.

Shāhjahān was very fond of music and dancing. The names of Kavīndra, Chitra Khān, Lāl Khān and Srīman[100] are mentioned as court musicians. There was a big staff of dancing girls attached to court.[101] Bernier praises their suppleness and grace.[102] It may be that Shāhjahān sometimes indulged in frivolities with them, but to presume that his life was one unceasing round of bestial sensuality is erroneous.

94 Manucci, Vol. I, p. 194.
95 Bernier, p. 273.
96 Manrique, Vol. II, pp. 140—44.
97 Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 203.
98 Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 344.
99 Wāris, f. 70.
100 Wāris, ff. 71, 80, 100b.
101 Manucci, Vol. II, p. 336; Pelsaert, p. 83.
102 Bernier, p. 274; Manucci, Vol. II, p. 336.

It is doubtful if Shāhjahān was addicted to drinking. Manucci says that the Emperor was not a drinker himself, though he did not care to remedy the evil.[103] But President Fremlin in his letter to the Company (December 29, 1640) writes: "This King begins to turn a good fellow, for about three or four months since he wrote unto this Governor (yet privately) to provide him of grape wine (for so their language renders it), either from us or the Portugalls; so that we then sent him two large cases filled with Canary wine and Allegant, which (with 20 horsemen to attend them) were on men's shoulders sent towards him to Kishmir. We shortly expect to hear how he likes them and accordingly to be troubled with his future commands."[104] Shāhjahān's drinking wine on his twenty-fourth birthday and his renouncing it later have been noted in previous chapters.

Was he addicted to drink?

But a little partiality for wine or some indulgence in frivolities were in the seventeenth century not regarded as serious blots on the character of a sovereign. Even in the present century the moral code of the rich differs from that of the poor; and there certainly was a still greater laxity among the former in the medieval age. But what appears as most revolting to all sense of decency is Bernier's allegation that Shāhjahān had incestuous connection with his daughter Jahān Ārā. He says, "Begum Sāhib, the elder daughter of Shāhjahān, was very handsome and of lively parts, and passionately beloved by her father. Rumour has it that his attachment reached a point which it is difficult to believe, the justification of which he rested on the decision of the *Mullās*, or doctors of their law. According to them it would have been unjust to deny the King the privilege of gathering fruit from the tree he had himself planted."[105]

Incestuous connection with Jahān Ārā.

103 Manucci, Vol. II, p. 105.

104 The English Factories in India (1637—41), p. 289.

105 Bernier, p. 12.

Vincent Smith has it that the earliest evidence of this incestuous connection is to be found in De Laet, and that it is confirmed by Thomas Herbert. On the basis of their evidence V. Smith comes to the conclusion that 'the unpleasant accusation against Shāhjahān and his daughter, even if it be not conclusively proved, certainly is not disproved. Although it may be reasonably regarded as improbable, it cannot be dismissed summarily as incredible.'[106] At another place he remarks, 'Although it is undeniable that Shāhjahān was excessively devoted to sensual pleasures, and there is reason to believe that his daughter engaged in various illicit amours, it seems almost incredible at first sight that both father and daughter could have been so utterly depraved as they are alleged to have been, yet similar practices prevail or prevailed, a few years ago, among the puritan Boers of South Africa, who are said to have adduced scriptural warrant for their conduct.'

V. Smith's opinion.

Thus the testimony of De Laet and Herbert leads V. Smith to a definite conclusion which is strengthened by the assertions of Bernier and Tavernier. By a curious process of reasoning Mr. Smith further determines the time when the crime could have occurred ; he places it immediately after the death of Mumtāz Mahall in the Deccan. He further opines that the criminal connection had ceased by 1658.

V. Smith fixes the time of the crime.

Now, apart from the monstrous nature of the crime itself, the evidence on which Mr. Smith bases his reasoning is not quite unimpeachable. De Laet was at best a compiler, though according to Mr. S. M. Banerji, his compilations are learned and laborious.[107] It may be presumed that he kept himself in touch with the Dutch factors at Sūrat, but who can vouch for the veracity of the latter? Is it not possible that they

His opinions not based on reliable evidence.

106 The Indian Antiquary, 1914, pp. 240—44.

107 De Laet : Empire of the Great Moghul—the Introduction.

retailed a popular rumour which was taken at its face value by De Laet? As to Herbert, he was evidently a plagiarist. He never visited any place beyond Sūrat and Swally, yet he gives a graphic description of many towns, and of the history of the Moghul Kings from the time of Tīmūr and Changīz Khān. His information too is based on sources which cannot be said to be quite reliable.

It is, however, strange that an acute observer like Mr. Smith should lightly pass over the categorical assertion of Manucci, who says that Bernier's statement is founded entirely on the talk of low people.[108] Moreover, his reflections on the nature of Bernier's testimony are interesting. He observes that "(Bernier) puts many things of his own into the Moghul history, ... He writes many things which did not occur . . . . nor could he have been well informed, for he did not live more than eight years at the Moghul court; it is so very large that there are an infinity of things to observe. Nor could he so observe, because he had no entrance to court."[109]

Thus, had there been any truth in the rumour Manucci would certainly not have contradicted Bernier so strongly. When he reproduces other scandals about the private lives of Shāhjahān and Jahān Ārā, there is no reason why he should have refrained from confirming the story of the incestuous connection, had he been convinced of its veracity. Undbubtedly he was a favourite of Jahān Ārā,[110] and received many special regards from her, but this did not prevent him from writing his many stories about her. Moreover, Bernier also is not fully certain of what he is writing. He says that "it is rumoured," and does not testify to its veracity as he does in so many other cases.

108 Manucci, Vol. I, p. 217; See also his assertions regarding the sources of his information, Vol. I, p. 220.

109 Manucci, Vol. II, pp. 75-76.

110 Manucci says that the Begum Sāhib sent him bottles of her special wine in recognition of his services to the staff of her *harim*.

Moreover, the intense love of Shāhjahān for his wife negatives the uncharitable suggestion of Mr. Smith that he committed the incest immediately after her death. His grief was so intense that within a few days his beard turned almost grey. Only a perverted imagination can picture him indulging in such a monstrosity, on the very morrow of his bereavement. To compare him to the Boers of South Africa displays an extremely uncharitable mentality.

The origin of this gossip seems to lie in Shāhjahān's unbounded love for his daughter, who was the eldest of his surviving children. That Jahān Ārā equally reciprocated this affection is borne out not only by the evidence of the Indian chroniclers, but also by the assertions of European travellers Bernier remarks: "Shāhjahān reposed unbounded confidence in this his favourite child; she watched over his safety, and was so cautiously observant that no dish was permitted to appear upon the royal table which had not been prepared under her superintendence."[111] Manucci says that she served her father with the greatest love and diligence.

The opinion of Sir Richard Temple, on this subject, deserves to be fully quoted. He says, "I look upon the story as an instance of the scandalous gossip about those in high places, which has only too often been handed down as Indian history: in this case, to account for the great favours publicly showered on Jahān Ārā by her fond and notoriously ill-regulated father; having its root in the common knowledge that the Moghul Emperor's daughters were not allowed to marry for reasons of State."[112] To this may be added the well deserved tribute to Jahān Ārā paid by Beale. He says, "(Her) name will ever adorn the pages of history as a bright example of filial attachment, and heroic self-devotion to the dictates of duty . . . . (She) not only supported her aged father in adversity, but

[111] Bernier, p. 12. See Jahān Ārā's verses on the death of her father, Sālih, f. 688b.

[112] The Indian Antiquary, 1915, p. 24.

voluntarily resigned her liberty and resided with him during his imprisonment in the fort of Agra."[113]

To revert to the character of Shāhjahān, let it be noted that this alleged lewdness was only a minor part of it. From 1614 onward he led a life of strenuous activity. A pleasure-seeking debauchee could not have achieved what he did. As a prince we find him devoted to his duty, and as a sovereign he maintained those qualities of head and heart. Indeed he waded through blood to the throne, but he was a kind and just monarch. He was endowed with marvellous energy, keen insight, intrepidity, courage and above all with an unrivalled driving force. Like his ancestors he had an inordinate thirst for territorial extension, which he passed on to his son. But in the south after the annexation of Ahmadnagar he cried a halt, and was content with the submission of Bījāpūr and Golconda. He revelled in grandeur ; love of splendour and magnificence became almost a passion to him. Gorgeous apparel, gorgeous thrones, gorgeous carpets, gorgeous canopies appealed to him instinctively. He was a great connoisseur of precious stones, and appraised their value with great accuracy. His collection of jewels was probably the most splendid in the world. He was extremely fond of display, and would spend thousands of rupees to impress foreigners, especially envoys from Persia, Trans-Oxiana and Turkey. In charity he was lavish : over and above the alms distributed on the occasion of his solar and lunar weighings, he periodically remitted huge sums to Mecca and Medina.

After his sixtieth year his natural vigour began to decline. The *'Ulemās* issued a *fatwā* to excuse him from the *Ramazān* fasts, and permitted him to give alms instead.[114] Close imprisonment shattered his health completely.[115] He fell ill in

113 Beale : Dictionary of Oriental Biography, p. 190, and Sarkār : History of Aurangzīb, Vol. I, pp. 73-74 and Vol. III, pp. 158-59.

114 Wāris, f. 68.

115 Sālih says that Shāhjahān read the *Qorān* with Mīr Sayyid Md Qanaujī, f. 675b.

January 1666 as the effect of rubbing himself with a medicated oil.[116] He was seized with fever which was soon complicated by strangury and griping of the stomach. Although the surgeon Brindāban removed the obstruction after nine days, the Emperor could no longer fight against nature, and began to sink. On January 22 his condition became hopeless. He fervently thanked God, prayed him to forgive his sons, made his will to his concubines, and gave up his life in full view of the Tāj amidst the wailing of the women and sobs of his attendants. Thus his kingly career, which opened with a tragedy, ended also in tragedy. God have mercy on his soul

116 This oil was prepared by Rizquilah S. Muqarrab Khān. Sālih, f. 676

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